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Simultaneously, the Kokáma Indians of the lower Ucayali region began to emigrate to the Brazilian Solimões, where they established themselves among the Tukuna, though in separate localities. Their most important period of settlement was in the middle of the nineteenth century at Jurupary-tapera (Santa Cruz) on the left bank of the Solimões, between the mouth of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and that of the Igarapé da Rita.

Today some two thousand of these Indians dwell in Brazil, along the banks and islands of the Solimões from the vicinity of São Paulo de Olivença to the Auatiparaná. They live in peace with the Tukuna but avoid contact and do not meddle with them. The cultural influence of the Kokáma on the Tukuna has been practically nil.

From 1864 to 1870 Brazil was at war with Paraguay. Even today the Tukuna guard the traditions of the persecutions which they suffered from the "Varaváyu"; however, they designate by this name not the Paraguayans but the Brazilian recruiting troops, to whom they offered armed resistance. The few Tukuna recruits who returned brought back with them a new epidemic of smallpox, which caused havoc in the tribe.

In 1871 there was founded within the bounds of Caldeirão, at a spot immediately below the mouth of the igarapé of this name (today Belém), a mission which already had a nucleus of Tukuna Indians and which eventually possessed a chapel, 30 houses, and 171 inhabitants. By 1877, however, this establishment was in complete ruin.

In the last two decades of the past century the rubber-gathering industry began its extraordinary development throughout the entire Amazon region. It was for the Tukuna a sad era of exploitation, slavery, and abasement under the heel of greedy *patrões*, ignorant men but superior in force, which lasted for almost forty years; to this day they have not yet recovered from the effects, although the last of these squirearchs has long since disappeared.

However, even today there are some individuals, living at the mouths of the igarapés inhabited by the Tukuna, who willfully desire to hold the Indians subject to their selfish patronage. It is to be hoped that the Indian Welfare Service,* which was established in the region in 1942, will put an end to these anachronistic views.

There are no written records of the total number of Tukuna for any period of the past, but very conservatively I estimate their present number in Brazilian territory at more than 2,000, their total number as 3,000; they are therefore one of the most numerous tribes in Brazil.

## Scientific Exploration

Before 1928 no one had studied the Tukuna in their primitive settlements. One or another traveler had been present occasionally at some episode of their celebrations, collected from the Neobrazilians of the area some not always accurate information, or had some Indian of the tribe for a paddler; but it appears that no one had spent even a day among them. The first reports, which many other writers utilized for more than a century, we owe to Padre José Monteiro de Noronha and to Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio, who were briefly in the Tukuna country

* Serviço de Protecção aos Indios.

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## II. HABITATION.

[361] [592] [771] The original Tukuna habitation was a large, isolated, communal dwelling, *maloca*, occupied by more than one family. All settlements made up of a number of houses together, like Tabatinga, São José do Javary, and Caldeirão, owe their origin to Neobrasilian initiative and were so contrary to tribal custom that the complaint was always heard that the Tukuna did not want to be herded together but would spread out again through the jungle.

[641] [591] I have often been told by the Indians themselves that in such or such a place there was once a great maloca of this or that clan. I do not know how to interpret this statement, for though the clans of the Tukuna are patrilineal, the family is more matrilocal than patrilocal, so that only in very special circumstances would all the men of one maloca belong to the same clan. However, the clan tẽ'ma (Burity)—if, as tradition says, its members once spoke a language different from that of the other clans—might have been collectively localized.

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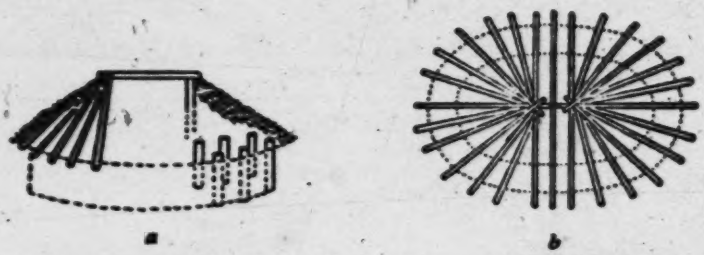

*a* *b*

Fig. 1. Maloca or communal dwelling. *a*. Sketch showing roof and interior construction. *b*. Plan of rafters.

### Houses

These houses were apparently circular; actually, however, there was always a small, rectangular central section, with a semicircular roof bay at each end (fig. 1). The rafters of this rectangular section, which formerly was only some two or three meters long, rested on a short ridgepole supported by pillars or posts. At each end, a little below the ridgepole and in the angles formed by the two outer pairs of rafters, there was a small horizontal crossbeam fastened to the rafters, and upon this rested the rafters of the roof bay (fig. 1, *b*).

Two series of vertical supports divided the interior into two concentric parts, the inner series—at least, the highest and strongest—being of *acapú* wood. The [824] house was covered with *caraná* thatching, the stems being intertwined and attached to a long lath of *paxiuba*[1] wood. The tips of the leaves were split and were also intertwined. The laths with the thatching attached were tied horizontally on the rafters with strips of the inner bark. For the first three or four years, at least, this covering was an absolutely impermeable protection from the tropical rains.

The walls, more or less the height of a man, were made of small poles of paxiuba wood, or of the same material as the roof. In a few houses the interstices were filled

[1] An exceedingly tough Amazonian palm (*Socratea exorrhiza*), the roots of which are so thorny that they are used to scrape manioc roots.

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with clay. In Igarapé na'mẽ-tị I saw the remains of a structure of this kind, which had been inhabited until about fifty years ago. 342

Midway in the wall of the roof bay at either end was a door (i"ya) made of a special and very durable thatching called čatị" and small poles of paxiuba. The door was completely free from the house and was removed and propped at one side when not in use; it was closed from the inside by a crossbeam.

These houses were tightly constructed in order to serve as a refuge from mosquitoes, for, unlike the Omágua, the Tukuna formerly did not have the mosquito net. Through contact with the Neobrazilians, however, they at once recognized the enormous advantage that this article offers in a region permanently scourged by mosquitoes, and today mosquito nets are found in all Tukuna houses. [177] [352]

*Modification of house type.*—The introduction of the mosquito net completely altered the style of dwelling. Since it was no longer necessary to seal the house hermetically, the walls were abandoned, and today they are only rarely seen. Many Tukuna also gave up one or both of the semicircular roof bays, lengthening the central section to compensate for this, so that an open, rectangular shelter finally resulted. This is probably the type to which Tessmann refers when he speaks of the quadrangular Tukuna houses.

Formerly the Tukuna dwelt exclusively on firm ground, and the construction of their houses was not suitable to another environment. After they spread out along the banks and islands of the Solimões, many found their dwellings periodically invaded by the flooding river. They were therefore obliged either to live on a platform of poles, like the Omágua of old, or to move temporarily to more solid ground.

Occasionally I encountered a type of structure for which I have no certain explanation, namely, a rectangular house of small dimensions (3 by 4 m.) resting on tall poles 2 m. high or more. This construction is certainly not an adaptation to the floods, for the houses I saw were all on solid ground. With one exception, all were found in the yard of a larger and more usual house.

These little dwellings are always inhabited by bachelors or by newlyweds; I am therefore inclined to regard them as derived from the small "loft" which is always found below the highest part of the thatched roof and more or less at the same level as these separate houses. These lofts also serve as dormitories for bachelors or newlyweds. According to the Tukuna, the small houses are a recent innovation, adopted by their inhabitants "because they thought it better that way." Perhaps the innovation is due to the growing individualism of the new generation. It does not appear to me to be an element borrowed from another native culture. [176]

With the exception of a few dwellings of some Tukuna who snobbishly vie with one another in copying the shanties of the Neobrazilians, the houses of these Indians are even today outstanding because of the elegance of their light yet strong furnishings, and their ample and spacious construction. On the Jacurapá, a tributary of the Içá, I measured one that was 31 by 15 m., and 10 m. high, yet this was not one of the largest.

These Indians construct such spacious dwellings because their villages have no houses exclusively for festivities and, since all celebrations stem from private ini- [345]

[9] T., na-rị-kone, "tongue of anteater."

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Articles of use, clothes, for instance, are kept in a large basket made of uarumã, with a lid and a round mouth. Four pointed bulges woven in the lid and at the bottom serve as feet (pl. 5, *b*). Another type of uarumã basket, with a round mouth, has a flat, square lid and bottom (pl. 5, *d*). Baskets of these two types are found in all sizes, from 4 to 40 cm. in diameter. There are other small conical baskets woven in spiral technique, with flat bottoms. I do not know whether they are aboriginal or are imitations of the Neobrazilian *balaios* (hampers or fruit baskets). 352 285

In many houses nowadays one sees trunks that have been purchased from the Neobrazilians. In most houses, however, clothes and tucum fibers are suspended from the crossbeams. Almost always, too, there are the remains of preparations for the last celebration: some costumes hanging from the house posts, fragments of tururí cloth thrown on top of the highest crossbeams, dance batons thrust beneath the roof thatch, small drums tied to the corner rafters, grotesque masks wrapped in bundles of tururí cloth, and rolls of tururí containing ornaments. Frequently, also, one sees ears of maize tied together on the crossbeams or the loft. 352 [139]

*The kitchen.*—Nowadays at least, no one keeps or cooks food in the living quarters. For this purpose there is always a special little hut, ten to fifty meters away from the main house. Today this is invariably a rectangular shelter with a ridge roof. 343

According to Bates, the fires were built in the open space in the center of the house.[1] But the haphazard construction of the house he describes makes one doubt that this was customary, nor can one understand how the Indians, if they had kitchen fires in the middle of the house, could carry on in it such active ceremonies as the puberty ceremony. Moraes Torres, however, describes a Tukuna house which he saw a few years before, in 1852, perhaps in the same place (near São Paulo de Olivença), in which the space encircled by the inner series of the roof supports "served as kitchen and dance-hall."[2] It is noteworthy that most accounts give the cook shed its Portuguese name, *cozinha* (T., kuči'nã). 343 114 [354]

All this leads one to believe that such separate sheds were an innovation that appeared when the Tukuna learned the preparation of fermented manioc flour, *farinha d'agua*, from the Neobrazilians, and that they are variants of the Neobrazilian oven "houses." At the same time, the Tukuna swear that these sheds have been used since the old days and that the aboriginal type was also circular. 343 [177]

In any case, the separate cook shed is today an outstanding characteristic of all the Tukuna settlements, distinguishing their houses at first glance from those of other peoples of the region, who cook beneath the roof of their dwellings or in an attached shed. In the Tukuna shed one finds everything necessary for preparing the daily food, as well as for making manioc flour.

The kitchen fire is distinguished by a *trempé*, a three-legged stand placed over the fire to hold a cooking pot. It consists of three pieces of baked clay, the central part, on which the pot rests, being either pierced or solid. [354]

Nowadays, fires are lighted by means of matches or a flint and steel lighter acquired in trade. According to Tessmann, fire was formerly produced by striking 372

[1] Bates, The Naturalist on the River Amazons, 2:403.
[2] Moraes Torres, Itinerario das viziitas, p. 33.

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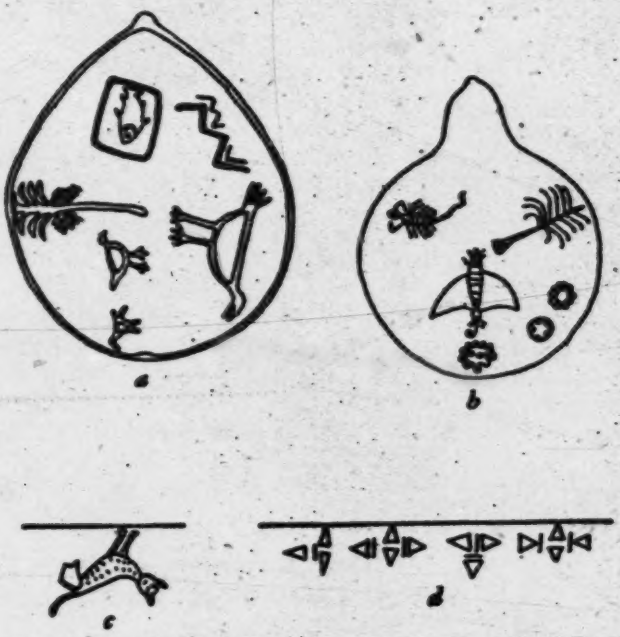


Fig. 2. Gourd decoration. *a*, *b*. Interior, red design on black background. *c*, *d*. Exterior, engraved edge patterns.

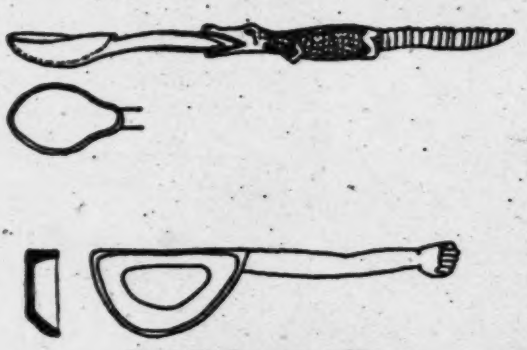

Fig. 3. Wooden spoons. × ⅛.

influence, as their Portuguese name, *colhér* (T., kuyo'rn), proves. The artistic impulse of the Tukuna has not, however, been limited to merely copying the European models; they frequently give these utensils fantastic and original shapes. There are double spoons of different sizes, with a bowl at each end of the handle; others with asymmetric, semicircular bowls; still others with the handle carved in the shape of an alligator, and so on. These spoons are also often painted with cumatá lacquer (fig. 3). There are always some spatulas for stirring the contents of the

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of a heavy wood, *cumarú;* it is two fingers thick and as much as 80 cm. long (fig. 4, *a*), and with it they crush and mill the material in a long semicylindrical trough (tau/ta'), sometimes open at both ends. In this hod they often work with a short wooden pestle; I saw one which ended at the top in a sculptured human head.

The cook shed is also the place where they make dry manioc flour, *farinha de mandioca*, which is probably the Tukuna product most desired by the Neobrazilians today. Formerly, the Tukuna did not know how to use it, but for dry flour substituted *beijú*, a thin flat cake of fermented manioc dough baked on a clay slab. They also had a flour made of maize cracked by the heat of fire,[10] which went by the name of a/tẽ'ẽ and was eaten with bananas.

The Neobrazilians probably taught the Tukuna how to make manioc dry flour, since so many of the Tukuna terms relating to it are Neobrazilian, for instance, the name of the product, ʊ:'i (l.g., *uí*), and of the utensils used in its manufacture: e.g., yapu'na, oven (l.g., *yapúna*), te'piti, press (l.g., *tipity*), kučʊ, hod for the dough (P., *cocho*).

I do not know what shape the earlier grater had; today it is invariably made of a punctured sheet of metal. There are still small graters which are made from the aerial root of the *paxiubinha*, and others made from the bony part of the tongue of the pirarucú, but they are no good for grating manioc roots; they are useful only in the preparation of certain medicines.

Like any other load, the manioc roots are brought from the garden patch in large conical baskets (pl. 4). These are made by the men—who, however, never use them—in an open-mesh technique, usually of split *cipó*, more rarely of uarumã stems. The Tukuna say that they learned to make this type of basket (və'tura; Tupi, *waturá*) from the Omágua, who then made war against the Tukuna for copying an Omágua article. Formerly the Tukuna baskets were cylindrical, with a square bottom. All are carried with a tumpline of envira. Baskets of both types are in use today, although the first type predominates.

Aside from these carrying baskets, the Tukuna also have a large woven bag, ñẽ'/rį, closed by a drawstring passed through the mesh row of the opening; it often has a tumpline woven of the same material (pl. 7, *e*). This bag, *puçá*, with the mouth held open by a hoop of cipó or of elastic wood, also serves as a dip net. It is mentioned in the legend of the origin of culture heroes as one of two articles typically used by women and is one of the elements which the Tukuna share with the cultures of eastern Brazil and the Chaco.

Formerly, the Tukuna peeled manioc roots with the edge of a large bivalve shell, kɔru, common along the Solimões. This is used even today to scrape pineapples for the preparation of a cooling drink.

For soaking bundles of manioc roots in plain water the Tukuna invariably use an old canoe near the entrance to the house. The squeezed pulp from the press (tipity) is placed in a hod, open at both ends and set slightly inclined on two sawhorses. Nowadays, the Tukuna make "dry" farinha just as much as "wet"; they rarely bother with tapioca. The pulp is strained through square, large-meshed sieves made of strips of bamboo, *taboca*, or uarumã (ʊ:'i-čim̨/i˜n).

For other purposes there is a small fine-meshed sieve, va'ira-čin̨/i˜ã (*váira*,

[10] The word for popcorn, *pipocas*, was not used here.—Trans.

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412 sasai). These sieves are identical with those of the Neobrazilians and are probably borrowed from them. The original type of Tukuna sieve is perhaps the round one found occasionally even today; it fits better in the mouths of the jars used in straining the pulp from which beverages are made, the original purpose of these sieves.

The paddle for stirring manioc flour in the oven is the same as that used by the [171] Neobrazilians—a small board attached to a long stick, if it is not just some old canoe paddle. For turning cassava (*mandioca*) cakes in the oven the Tukuna use a small board shaped like a segment of a circle, almost invariably a broken section [285] of an old canoe-paddle blade. Flour is kept in cylindrical openwork baskets woven [251] of uarumã in an open-mesh technique, lined with leaves that also seal the top, and tied by a plait of cipó. This is the common form also used by the Neobrazilians.

In the kitchen there are always a number of small four-legged benches, ȵu/ma'vɨ 352 (fig. 4, *b*), rectangular or oval in shape, each carved entirely from a single piece of wood. Sometimes they are made in the form of a tortoise, *jaboti* (*Emys tabulata*, pl. 9, *c*), and they are always made with some cunning. They are never more than [562] ten centimeters high. These benches are used exclusively by men while partaking of refreshments, whereas the women sit on the floor.

*Cleanliness.*—The house as well as the kitchen is usually clean, since both are 356 swept out at least once daily with a broom made of the leaf ribs of small *tucumã* leaves left over from the fibers used in making thread. The Tukuna do not tolerate a stink in the house or in the kitchen. They immediately remove excreta of domestic [412] animals or of small children, including the soiled portion of the earth, with the point of a short, broad blade.[n] This scrupulousness is the main reason why these [231] Indians have a distaste for raising chickens and never keep pigs.

Neither dog fleas nor chiggers (*Pulex penetrans; bicho de pé*) become annoying [136] in Tukuna houses, but cockroaches, crickets, and tracuá ants are most disagreeable. These last, above all, immediately swarm over any food not on the grill while the fire is burning and invade baskets and trunks with irritating persistency. The Indian chief Calixto daueru'kɨ fought this plague in Igarapézinho by thrusting thick reeds, open at one end, into the house thatch. In a short time the insects would build their nests in these reeds and, when the reeds were filled, he would shake them out over the fire and again insert the reeds in the thatch.

## Communication between Settlements

487 Formerly, communication between isolated settlements was mainly by land, since the Tukuna, in contrast to the Omágua, were foot Indians, not canoe men. All the igarapés (tributaries of the left bank of the Solimões) inhabited by these Indians were connected by trails; likewise the different houses along a particular igarapé. Castelnau mentions these paths,[o] which connected the Tukuna habitations of the interior from Caldeirão (Belém) to Tabatinga and Loreto. With the development of navigation many of these trails were abandoned, although some are used even today.

501 Originally, the Tukuna practiced little navigation, being isolated in their jungle centers on solid ground by the Omágua, their superiors in warfare. They had only

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[n] *Terçado*, lit., a short, broad sword; probably the machete or *facão*.—Trans.
[o] Castelnau, p. 50.

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small craft made from the trunks of *paxiuba barriguda*.[19] In contact with the Omágua, hostile at first but ultimately peaceful, they exchanged their admittedly primitive craft for their neighbors' *ubá*—a canoe completely hollowed out from a cedar trunk, with the gunwales not expanded by fire.

Finally, they learned from the Neobrazilians the use of the *casco* (pl. 10, *f*), a canoe hollowed out from a tree trunk, carved both inside and out, expanded by fire, and finally strengthened by interior braces. Today the Tukuna are excellent canoewrights for craft of this type, their cascos being duly appreciated by the Neobrazilians. They have become a canoe people and sometimes pass entire weeks on trips in this craft.

At the same time, though they have neglected their original trails, they have opened up countless paths and passages of all kinds through the flooded jungles in the marginal region along the Solimões and the igarapés, where they fish and go from one house to another in their canoes. Since these passages are often low and narrow, the Indians use only mats to protect their gear from the rains, not the *punacarica* or semicylindrical awning common to the entire Amazonian region. Rafts are never used for transport.

The casco is propelled almost exclusively by paddling, only rarely by poling. The paddle (fig. 4, *c*), another article the Tukuna sell in quantities to the Neobrazilians, has a round blade with a point about the length of the radius of the central part or longer. The shaft ends in a small, slightly concave crosspiece. The Tukuna say that originally the points of the paddles were shorter and less sharp than now. According to Tessmann, the blade was large and round. The blade, the crosspiece, and a small part of the adjacent shaft are invariably stained with cumatê paint, only the central part of the shaft remaining white. There are no other decorations on the paddle except those in imitation of the Neobrazilians'.

[19] According to J. S. Decker, Flora Brasileira, this species is *Iriartea exorrhiza*; *I. ventricosa* is known as *castiçal*.—Trans.

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## III. SUBSISTENCE

### Agriculture

241 [226] Agriculture and fishing are the principal sources of Tukuna economy. If forced to, the Tukuna will go for some time without collecting wild fruits or hunting; but the complete lack of garden products and fish simply spells misery to them.

[462] [476] [462] The garden patch, cleared and burned out of the virgin jungle, is as a rule made exclusively by the men, often in a communal work party, *uajurí;* but some widows, without masculine aid, clear the land and plant in the *capoeira* or secondary jungle growth. Both sexes pile up the rubbish and burn it, whereas planting is carried out exclusively by women and girls. The original instrument for felling trees was

[412] the stone ax, whose appearance no one now remembers, but which, according to legend, the culture hero dyoi' stole from the demon toi"ta [tu|ᵊ'ta] (see page 131).

The four species of major importance for the Tukuna are bitter manioc, *mandioca brava* (*Manihot utilissima*), sweet manioc, *macaxera* (*M. aipi*),[1] maize, and yam, *cará* (*Dioscorea* sp.).[2] Lacking any one of these four, the Tukuna have a bad time of it, whereas the absence of other edible tubers, such as the sweet potato, and of other plants like sugar cane, pineapple, peanut (*manduví*),[3] and so on, affects them very little.

[773] According to legend, a solitary old woman discovered both the tree which furnished macaxera-like fruits and the art of making manioc flat cakes, beijús. On learning the secret, the men felled the tree and ate up everything; only Deer kept shoots and seeds in a basket (vatu') of which the culture hero dyoi' later robbed him (see p. 131). For this reason the Tukuna refer to a cultivated plant as a pre-Columbian possession by saying that "it first came in Deer's vatu'."

[777] Formerly, only sweet manioc was known to them; apparently bitter manioc and the process of making manioc flour were introduced by the Neobrazilians.

[412] In planting either variety of manioc, a woman goes ahead, armed with a long, heavy, rounded stake of wood with a sharpened point (about 140 cm. by 7 cm.), with which she makes holes in the ground, a female companion trailing behind to insert the plant slips into the prepared soil. This stake (paye'[ᵊn), when not in use, is kept under water near the entrance to the house or clearing, so that it will not dry out and lose weight. It is removed and dried off only on the eve of planting.

243 [773] Maize was not "in Deer's vatu'" but, according to legend, was given to the Indians by aria'na, a great coquette of the upper world, who brought it with her from one of the lower worlds, where she was once forced to sojourn against her will. (See p. 112.)

[462] The planting of maize, done preferably by men, is accompanied by a certain ceremoniousness that is not observed for any of the other plants. The kernels are placed first of all in a gourd of water. The planter then takes a little of this water in his mouth and sprays it over the kernels in order to make them more savory.

243 784 Until the plants reach a certain height he must submit to rigorous taboos. He cannot go near the fire, or eat or even touch the following fish: pirarucú (*Arapaima*

[1] Commonly known in Brazil as *aipi*.—Trans.
[2] A tuber also known as *inhame*.—Trans.
[3] *Arachis hypogaea;* commonly known as *amendoim;* T., tə̈rtʃ.

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248 Another plant that formerly furnished fibers is the mɔɔ'vị (*Bromelia* sp.; l.g., *curauá*);[a] they served especially for bowstrings and for lashing arrows.

[485] According to Bates the small bags (tʊ'/maka) with carrying strap were made of bromelia threads;[b] in them the hunter carried ammunition for his shotgun, and they also served as containers for trifles at home. Today, without exception, they are made of tucum fiber (pl. 7, *c*). Nowadays bromelia is only rarely cultivated, and then on a lesser scale as a medicinal plant.

177 After the beginning of commerce with the Neobrazilians, tobacco also was cultivated less frequently, and it has almost disappeared from Tukuna clearings. Its [249] old name was pɔ:'ri. Pre-Columbian occurrence is probable, since tobacco is used in Tukuna magic ceremonies. Aside from sugar cane and bananas, the Tukuna 241 adopted from the Neobrazilians only the watermelon, vɔ'račia (from the Portu- 177 guese *melancía*), and the squash, *jurumúm* (*Cucurbita maxima*), of which they make little use.

However, they cultivate almost all the Neobrazilian fruits,[c] planting around their houses mangoes (*Mangifera indica*, Reg.), avocados (*Persea gratissima*, Gaert.), *abiú*, *atta*, *biribá*, oranges, lemons, papayas (*Carica papaya* L.), guavas (*Psidium guayava*, Raddi), cashews (*Anacardium occidentale* L.), *bacuri*, and *ingá*. It is difficult to determine whether most of these fruit trees were cultivated by the Tukuna in pre-Columbian times. The genipa and the urueú figure in the legends of culture heroes; both are found in the house yards.

249 There are a great number of medicinal plants, many of them being cultivated at the border of the house yard so as to be always at hand. For poisonous snake 278 bite the Tukuna apply a liquid prepared from the scrapings of a plant called 757 a/tapẽ-arị-ẹị[a] (medicine of jararáca; *Bothrops jararaca*) boiled in water; they give the victim spoonfuls of this at intervals, until the symptoms subside. If the accident occurs in the jungle, far from home, the victim chews the green leaves of a common bush, swallowing the juice in order to retard the effects of the poison.

The bulb of a cultivated plant, dyaa'-arị-ẹị[a] (diarrhoea medicine) or pʊ:'čuí ("nightingale"), scraped and made into an infusion with cold water, is used for diarrhoea (dya'ị[a]). The dried leaves of čẽẽ-arị-ẹị (medicine for blows; čẽẽ, blows), also cultivated, are tied over bruises which break the skin. For earache, the leaves of ṅʊma'čiẽ-arị-ẹị[a] (P., *trevo rouxo*, purple trefoil) are crushed to distill the juice, which is slightly warmed with a firebrand and introduced into the ear by a leaf rolled into funnel shape. This is also a cultivated plant.

The root scrapings of ẹ/tị̃maa (bitter; l.g., *gapuky*; *Martinella obovata*) a solid-ground jungle eipó, are applied in the same way for conjunctivitis. If this remedy proves ineffective, an ash from the charred tip of the Mauritia palm, curauá, is dropped into the eye; today this species is planted only for this purpose.

*Domestic animals.*—For domestic animals the Tukuna have only dogs, chickens, 231 ducks, and, rarely, a cat (T., pe'eana; l.g., *pichano*). According to Tukuna belief, 235 chickens (ɔta', from the ancient Quechua, *atahuallpa*)[d] were caught somewhere in

[a] The term *curaúá* is also used for a palm (*Mauritia curaua*).—Trans.
[b] Bates, 2:403.
[c] See Glossary for species and description of these fruits.
[d] Nordenskiöld, Deductions Suggested by the Geographical Distribution of Some Post-Columbian Words Used by the Natives of South America, Comparative Ethnographical Studies, 5:17 ff.

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the wild state by the first men, who raised them in their houses. Even today the Tukuna raise very few chickens, since they dislike their dirtying up the house or yard. Their forefathers had an aversion to the flesh but ate the eggs. Of the present generation no one refused to eat chicken with me, but in general they raise them only for sale to the Neobrazilians.

The plague of blood-sucking bats forces the poultry raisers to keep their wards almost always locked up at night in well-closed henhouses. These are generally conical in shape; one that I saw even had a veranda! Ducks, which are not very numerous, were recently introduced, as their name "pa'tu" (P., *pato*, duck) indicates.

With the exception of large mammals and birds of prey, the Tukuna occasionally raise at home the young of almost every species of wild animal that falls into their hands. These animals, all of which have the run of the place, generally stay only a short time in the possession of their original captors, since they are greatly sought after by the Neobrazilians. Others, upon becoming adult, turn wild or almost wild, coming and going at will from house to jungle and back again; they are given food, but no attempt is made to recapture them.

Every year, in the winter, the women and children are in the habit of raising the young of a marmoset called *leãozito* (little lion)[*] by the Neobrazilians. Sometimes two or three may be observed clinging to the hair of their mistress, who thus carries them wherever she goes, giving them masticated food from her own mouth. During the night she shelters them in a conical basket, woven in an openwork technique; it is suspended with the bottom down and is covered with tururí bark cloth, the round entrance being plugged up with a bit of rag. Although these tiny creatures cannot be raised outside this region, they are much coveted by civilized persons.

## Fishing

Fishing is the principal occupation of the men, who rarely let a day pass without indulging in it. A boy is taught to fish, from childhood, accompanying his father in the canoe and maneuvering it at his command. Even at the age of six, both boys and girls pass long hours alone in the igarapé or igapó in the small canoes their fathers make for them. At the age of nine or ten many boys are already able to provide the household with the fish required.

The equipment consists of the fishhook, javelin, arrow, harpoon, and arrow-harpoon. According to Tessmann, bone fishhooks were formerly used. I did not succeed in getting data from my informants on this point. They were able to tell me only that in the old days the children used to fish for small fry with the mandibles of the *taóca* army ants (*Ecyton* sp.), called vɔ'/čata in Tukuna. If this is true, then the fish certainly must have been only very tiny and of no economic value.

However, the fishhook (pɔ'/va) figures in the legend of the culture heroes as the property of a demon much older than they (see p. 126). Nowadays the Tukuna do not go off in their canoes without taking one or more reeds with fishhooks of various sizes with which to experiment as soon as they arrive at a propitious place.

[*] Also called *leoncito*, *saguim leãozinho*, and *chichico* (*Cebuella pygmaea pygmaea*, Spix).—Trans.

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The javelin (ʃu/ëi) is a length of canna brava some two meters long and having from four to nine points; it was formerly made of smooth wood, today it is made of iron wire with a barbed point. The traders on the banks of the Solimões complain bitterly of the Tukuna for unceremoniously filching the wire from their fences in order to make these spear points, but they are too unbusinesslike to order rolls of this wire to sell retail to the Indians at a good profit.

The fisherman casts the javelin, holding it by its butt end. This procedure always gave me the impression that the javelin was the weapon reproduced in the atlas of Spix and Martius, that was formerly thrown with the *estoleca* (atlatl); but no one remembers it today. With the javelin in the right hand, and the paddle held close to the blade in the left hand, the fisherman guides his canoe under the shadow of the trees, silently and slowly.

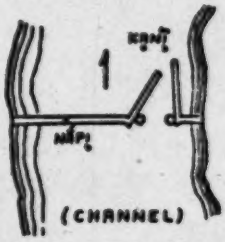

Fig. 5. Fish weir.

The ability of the Tukuna to discover fish in the depths or at the bottom is truly extraordinary and can only be explained by their spending almost half their time since childhood in this activity. If, while traveling, the Indians pass by a spot that looks promising, they constantly hurl the javelin ahead of the canoe and retrieve it, where the untutored eye sees no sign of fish. The children especially may be seen fishing in this manner and in advantageous places where they do not overlook the slightest possible chance.

Especially vulnerable to the javelin are the shoals of fish which swarm up the Solimões in fantastic numbers and enter the tributaries to spawn during May and June. In the river narrows formed by the crumbling and falling of the solid banks, the fish crowd together in such a way that any cast will bring results.

Far less used for fishing than the javelin is the bow and arrow. The arrow (na:/nẽ) is a length of canna brava, without feathering and with a barbed point, formerly made of the bone of a sloth (*Bradypus* sp.), nowadays of iron, superimposed on a wooden foreshaft.

The fisherman also often takes with him a reed with a small ball of bone, wax, or heavy wood attached to the end of the line (T., kuiˢë/ʃˢü; l.g., *uapunga*). With the ball he strikes the surface of the water, thus imitating the fall of fruits, in order to attract certain fish—especially *tambaquis* (*Colossoma bidens*) and *pacú* (*Myleles* sp.)—if he does not obtain the same results by tossing the fruit itself.

The arrow harpoon (T., vjrẽẽ′nẽ; l.g., *sararáca*), which today has a barbed iron point or, if used for turtle (*Emys tracaja*), four spikes, has been in use since ancient times, but not the long-shafted wooden harpoon which, in my opinion, was adopted only after the Tukuna began to inhabit the banks of the Solimões. There it is employed especially in fishing for pirarucú, the principal, and for some of the Solimões Tukuna the only, staple food, as well as an important article of export.

At the mouths of the numerous lake channels and at the dead-end arms of the lower courses of the igarapés one almost always finds a weir, *tapagem* (na:′/pj) constructed of bamboo strips. Where it extends close to one of the banks there is an opening between two posts with a movable door (kɔ′nj$^{s}$) of paxiuba shoots tied

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together with eipó, 180 cm. long, more or less, which permits the fish to enter but not to escape (fig. 5). Nowadays it is the custom to close this door at midnight in order to place the drug (timbó) in the water of the channel by five o'clock in the morning."

Formerly, a cone-shaped basket (T., pɛrɛ:'; l.g., *jiquy*) was also placed at the entrance of the weir. This was made of anajá strips, its length being 2.5 m., the mouth 1 m. in diameter; from the mouth inward there was a sort of funnel made of stems with sharp points to impede the return of the fish, once they had entered. With this, as has been already mentioned, the Tukuna use the stupefying juices of certain plants, small bushes called generically "timbó" in the lingua geral. The most active poison is provided by a broad-leafed species, ɛ'jɨ̈, which crops up nearly spontaneously in old second-growth jungles but is often cultivated as well, even today. Aside from this there are a large-leafed species, va'ĭ/pɛ, and one with tiny leaves, na:'mi, both being cultivated. The drugged fish are captured with a dip net, puçá (described on p. 00). Certain fish, such as *acarís*, are even caught by hand.

The species of greatest economic importance are:

| *Lingua geral* | *Scientific* | *Tukuna* |
|---|---|---|
| pirarucú | *Arapaima gigas* | dɛ'tĭ |
| tambaquí | *Colossoma bidens* | ta'makaĭi |
| curimatá | *Prochilodus* sp. | kauɛ̆'ya |
| aracú | *Leporinus* sp. | ɔ'ta |
| tucunaré | *Cichla* sp. | tukuna'ri |
| pacú | *Myteles* sp. | a'ta'ĕinikj |
| sardinha (P.) | *Chalcinus* sp. | a'raviri |
| surubim | *Platystoma* sp. | dyu'ta |
| piranha | *Serrasalmo* sp. | vĕu'ma |
| trahira | *Macrodon* sp. | dõ |
| matrinchan | *Characinus* sp. | ãõõĭ' |

Aquatic chelonians are shot with the arrow harpoon (sararáca), or are surprised while laying eggs on the beach. The turtle of the species *Emys amazonica* (ba:'vẽ), now threatened with extinction, is no longer an important food for the Tukuna; but the species *E. dumeriliana* (tɔri')[2] is still abundant, and it, as well as its eggs, plays an important role in the aboriginal kitchen. The *matamatá* (*Chelys fimbriata*; T., nayarẽ) is rare.

The peixe-boi, or manatee (*Manatus inunguis*; T., a'iruvẽ), is rarely caught. The Tukuna do not kill the red dolphin (*Delphinus* sp.), notwithstanding their dislike for it because it scares away the fish.

## Hunting

Game, which was tolerably abundant until about fifty years ago, is now rare because of the rise in the price of leather and the use of modern firearms which are sold to the Indians. In some isolated sloughs a lucky hunter may succeed in killing a tapir, pig, or deer.

[1] Literal translation; meaning not clear. Possibly the door is closed at this time in order to collect enough fish during these hours to justify the use of the drug.—Trans.

[2] On p. 25 this species is given as *Emys tracaja*; on p. 22 the author refers to it as *Podocnemis*.—Trans.

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411 ends are notched to receive the bowstring (vɨra'-maa'ĩ'), which was formerly made of bromelia but is nowadays of tucum fiber. Since it has never been used much for fishing and today is not much used in hunting, the bow is being abandoned. The arrow (kɨ:'ru) is made of canna brava. Its total length is 162 cm.; the length of its four-tined point, 9 cm. It is poisoned with curare and kept in a sheath of bamboo (taboca). Its feathering, in the form of a bridge, is tangential (*Stegfiederung*). Today it is completely obsolete.

There were formerly three types of spear, of which two are still in use today. The first was a throwing spear, va:ma'gu, of paxiubinha, 263 cm. long. The poisoned tip, 16 cm. long, looked like an arrow point and, like the arrow point, was protected by a bamboo sheath. In 1929 I saw these spears still in use, but by 1941 they no longer existed. With the second type, dẽ, the Tukuna still hunt wild pigs. It is a thrusting spear some 236 cm. long, a simple staff of *marajá* wood (*Bactris* sp.), the point being produced by removal of an oblique slice from one end. The third type is even shorter, a pole, dɔ'ča, which nowadays has an iron point. It is used in hunting jaguars (onças) brought to bay by hounds.

231 Dogs, T., airu' (a'i, spotted jaguar, Lg., *onça pintada*), are found in nearly all the houses, but most of them are worthless for the chase, so that a hunter prefers to leave them at home. According to the Tukuna, dogs are pre-Columbian, the first having been mysteriously borne by an Indian woman.

224 *Traps.*—Formerly the Tukuna knew a number of aboriginal types of traps, most of which fell into disuse after the Indians learned how to make booby traps with firearms. One of these early traps, called "vai'para'ne," which was set up over a deer or tapir run, consisted of two strong but elastic logs, tied together vertically on a horizontal beam at a height sufficient to permit the animal to pass beneath. When the trap was set, the two logs were bent in such a way that the ends were spread apart to the sides of the trail at just the right height. The quarry, passing under the horizontal beam, would spring the trap, the two logs snapping against the animal's flanks. Since each log had three spikes on the inner surface, the game was severely wounded as well as tightly held.

For agouti (Lg., cutia) the Tukuna use even today a type of trap known as *mundé* (deadfall)—or, in Tukuna, yɨta'—under which the victim is directed by two brush fences.

For small animals accustomed to running about on the ground, the Tukuna make an enclosure in the jungle sometimes a hundred meters long, and with various openings, behind each of which they set a noose. This fence appears in one legend [773] of the culture heroes (see p. 126) and also in the tale of the seller of a songbird, *subiá* (p. 154).

Another type of trap for catching *macucáuas* (*Tinamus* sp.), rats, and agoutis consists of a baited lasso at the end of an elastic pole (trip noose) bent over to the ground in the middle of a circular enclosure with one opening (bu:'rẽẽ). With [223] other traps they catch doves and pigeons by setting a burden basket so that one side is slightly raised, with the bait below. In 1929 I observed a rattrap in the form of a small box with a trip door; I suppose, with Tessmann, that this variant was [177] introduced through contact with the Neobrazilians.

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264 into the common vessel. This gesture is as common as the pinch of the fingers. The Tukuna eat neither avidly nor hastily. During and after the meal they belch unreservedly and with evident satisfaction. Each one gets up when satisfied, goes to the platform where the water jugs are kept, washes his hands and mouth, and takes a swallow.

252 When the fish or meat have been on the smoking-rack (moquem) for many days
262 and have thus become too hard, they are cooked with scraped green bananas until the mess completely disintegrates, the whole turning into a coarse pap (l.g., *mogica*). These are the two main foods.

Aside from these regular meals, however, someone frequently prepares a little snack over the kitchen fire, roasting either on the coals or on a spit a green banana, an ear of maize, sweet manioc root or yam tuber, or even, on the grill, bundles of green leaves containing a frog, a handful of beetle larvae, or minnows. The yam, especially, may be called the bread of the Tukuna.

### Beverages

272 I have already mentioned the beverages prepared from the fruits of the burity, bacabeira, patauá, and açahy palms. Later on we shall see the great importance of fermented drinks in the social and economic life of the Tukuna, as well as the injurious effects of intoxication, their one vice.

273 There are three principal fermented drinks for ceremonies: (1) čavɨ-čɨ'ɨ, a maize drink (l.g., chicha); (2) čaɨ°, from boiled sweet manioc (l.g., *caiçuma*); (3) pa'yavaru, from burned manioc flat cakes (l.g., *paiauarú*).

[114] The first and second are pre-Columbian. Tessman's statement that the Tukuna
●[177] do not use beverages made of maize is erroneous. The paiauarú was probably adopted from the Neobrazilian population which speaks the lingua geral; it is little used by the Neobrazilians of today.

For chicha, dry, ripe maize is pounded by the rocking-board; water is placed to heat over the fire and, when it boils, the meal is slowly dropped in and constantly stirred. It is permitted to boil until it becomes soft, when it is removed from the fire. A mouthful of a certain, special kind of sweet potato (*Batatas edulis* or *Ipomoea batatas*) is masticated and placed on top of the boiled maize, but without mixing it. Only after the mass of potato has settled is the combination stirred
[237] with a spatula made from the shoulder blade of a manatee (T., kə'ruvë). The person who chews the sweet potato first washes his mouth and chews the leaves of a plant called və'ča, which stings the mouth and lips, turning them and the tongue black. Finally, the liquid is strained through a sieve into a jar, where it remains. Generally, it will have turned potent by the following day.

To prepare caiçuma, the Tukuna peel a sweet manioc tuber, cut it into small pieces, and crush it to a pulp with the rocking-board. To the mass they add a gourdful of sweet potato and strain it through a sieve into a jar. A little cane molasses speeds up the fermentation.

Paiauarú is made in the following way. A sufficient quantity of manioc cakes is made, the cakes being baked in the oven until slightly burnt on the surface, when they are placed in a wide-meshed basket and dipped for an instant into hot water. The dough, about two or three fingers thick, is then spread out on banana

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leaves laid on the floor of the house. Dry, pulverized leaves (*manipa*) of a certain kind of manioc are sprinkled on this dough, and banana leaves are placed on top. After two or three days, when the dough is uncovered, it is crusted over with a thick layer of white mould, in which may be seen the contours of the maniva leaves. The dough, which by now has a strong, sweet taste, is cut into strips and placed in a jar, where, little by little, it exudes a liquid that in color and taste somewhat resembles a bad port wine. In time this liquor becomes harsh, corrosive, and strongly intoxicating. At feasts it is served only in individual, small, long gourds and, since the available quantity is generally not great, only to persons of a certain distinction.

To prepare paiauarú proper, the women lift the dough from its storage place in the jar and, mixing it with water, strain it into another jar, from which it is dipped in gourds to serve the guests.

The preparation of beverages is an exclusively feminine task. Care is taken to prohibit a pregnant women from taking part, since her participation would ruin the product.

No one serves himself with his own hands except the women in charge of the jars. At all the celebrations there is a "server"—generally the uncle of the child or girl who is being feted or even a closer relative—whose function is to serve the full gourds to the guests, one by one, when they are seated, or to wait on them if while dancing they pass in front of the jars, thereby indicating their desire to drink. The supply of water for filtering drinks is also entrusted to the server.

To me paiauarú has a disagreeable taste of fermentation and rot, the fibers contained in it making it even more disgusting. The Indians, however, drink it with enormous satisfaction. Becoming drunk, as often happens, they vomit, wash the mouth with water, and continue to swill. If the beverage is to be kept in a "new" jar, used for the first time, they take care to call in the shaman, *pagé*, to remove with gestures any invisible substance that might blind those drinking from the container.

Besides these three beverages, there are still other fermented drinks, which are, however, rarely prepared, such as dẽdne-ẽ'ẽ from cane (dẽ'dne) juice boiled and fermented in a jar; ui'-ẽ'ẽ, a sort of chicha made from yam tubers; a drink made of crushed pineapple, which after two days in the jar becomes potent but is also taken unfermented as a refreshment; and another drink, pururu'ka, made from boiled and fermented bananas.

Many of the men are today greatly addicted to cane rum, *cazaça*, which they purchase or receive as "treats" in the Neobrazilian establishments. One of the axioms against which no one on the Solimões will argue is: "Sem caxaça o indio naõ trabalha" ("Without rum the Indian won't work"). The worst influence is naturally exercised by the sugar-cane establishments that have rum stills and where the work is done almost exclusively by Indians. Some owners purposely get the Indians drunk in order to facilitate their exploitation.

In Belém I saw the cashier of one place, an incorrigible sot, ply women and girls with rum merely because it gave him pleasure to seem them blind drunk. The itinerant peddlers, too, in order to persuade Indians for their own purposes, habitually initiate the haggling with a glass of rum. On the other hand, neither

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## IV. APPAREL AND ORNAMENT

### Clothing

In general the Tukuna of today wear the same poor sort of apparel as the Neo-brazilians of the same region, but many of them also have quite regular clothes, some of which they make themselves from purchased material. Their ambition is to possess also a felt hat and a pair of shoes, although even under the best conditions shoes incommode them horribly, and few own them. Their best clothing is carefully kept for festive occasions. On workdays they wear only the oldest and most patched fragments, which, though ragged, are not dirty, for the Tukuna will not tolerate the stench of filthy garments.

Even today the women of the igarapés will walk about the house or clearing naked from the waist up, and the men, when going to hunt, wear only an old, torn pair of trousers; sometimes they hitch them up by the belt to form a sort of loin-cloth. The children go naked until about five years of age.

The reports of the ancient dress vary. The earliest observer, Padre Monteiro Noronha in 1768, states: "The women have no modesty at all; the men still cover the parts destined for procreation with wide fringes of thread twisted from a certain white tow which they obtain from tree bark.'" According to Tessmann, the men went completely naked, with the sexual parts in natural position, whereas the women used an unpainted, triangular piece of tururí cloth (*Ficusbastzeug*). Apparently this account of the men's attire requires revision. Actually, the glans was tucked beneath the waist belt. This custom was not only confirmed by my informants but is also mentioned in the culture-hero legend, which tells of *e'pi*: "He pulls his penis from behind the waist belt and dances about the fire.... With this his penis was shaken up. tĕčlarjnuj' saw this from her hiding place and could not resist laughing." (See p. 127.)

The festive attire of the men was composed of two small semicircular tangas, one in front and one in back. These were made of painted white tururí cloth just like those worn today by the boys during the rites of passage, *cerimonias de passagem* (pl. 12, m). It is probably this garment to which Spix refers as "einen zierlichen Gürtel aus Bast," and which Henry Lister Maw calls "a belt of bark round the waist.'" In Spix's plate, however, the Tukuna—except one who is completely nude, with the penis in natural position—are all dressed in a nondescript cloth.

According to Castelnau, "une feuille est fixée autour des reins.'" The plate in the second volume of Bates's work—probably, in spite of some obvious errors, the best illustration of the Tukuna of early times—shows men and women with a tanga hanging in front of a thick belt. In Barbosa Rodrigues' illustration[4] the Indian male wears over the sexual parts a small covering, which is not clear in the plate. The text mentions "bands of the same textile [cotton] with which they cover the sexual parts."

[1] Monteiro Noronha, Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará, § 140.
[2] Maw, p. 211.
[3] Castelnau, 5:45.
[4] Barbosa Rodrigues, Ticunas, p. 53.

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only by chiefs, the last who wore it being the maternal grandfather of my informant Calixto daueru'k]. This is evidently the same object that Bates describes: "The chief wears a head-dress or cap made by fixing the breast feathers of the Toucan on a web of Bromelia twine, with erect tail plumes of macaws rising from the crown." In his plate, the man leaning against a house post is evidently the chief with his regalia.

### Artificial Body Deformation

The manner of cutting the hair was formerly the same for both sexes. It was trimmed straight across the forehead just above the eyebrows, the rest, which was never cut, being allowed to fall free to the shoulders and sides. All old portraits confirm this. For work, the men rolled up their long hair in back, confining it by means of a twist of hair from below the bun. Others braided it into a pigtail, rolling this up and securing it with a strip of envira.

The hair was smoothed with a small comb (tu:/mi$^{a}$), the teeth of which, made from the frondstalk of the anajá palm, were fastened by fibres interlaced ornamentally between two pairs of twigs. The last Indian who knew how to make these combs died a few years ago. Today the Tukuna wear their hair in Neobrazilian style and comb it with purchased combs. A few Indian youths follow the custom of allowing their hair to grow exaggeratedly over the forehead and combing, or rather tossing, it all to one side. The beard is not plucked, and thick eyebrows are considered handsome.

Many Indians, especially the girls and children, are never completely free from lice, which, however, are not permitted to increase too much but are scrupulously captured and immediately eaten. But there are many individuals of both sexes who carefully keep themselves free of these parasites.

*Ear piercing.*—Formerly the Tukuna pierced the ear lobes of girls as often as those of boys, but nowadays only boys undergo the operation (paičí'ni). It is performed during the same ceremony in which the hair is plucked out from children, which formerly took place when the child was two years old; today it occurs at four years of age or over, the implement being a needle made of a bone of the parauacú monkey. The child's paternal aunt pierces the lobe with the instrument, while another relative grasps the point as it emerges on the other side and finishes drawing it through. In the hole thus made they insert a cotton cord and apply a bit of crushed round pepper (mẽ'ẽ). No diet is imposed upon the victim, but he is prohibited from fighting with his companions lest the puncture suppurate and [the boy is told] become "the size of the head of the one with whom you fought."

Formerly, both sexes commonly put into the hole small plates of white wood (*ochroma*, according to Tessmann). On ceremonial occasions they wore in the ears small wands, the tips in front decorated with the red and black feathers of a small bird, the pore'nẽ, the other end encircled by heron plumes. From this wand there hung a small plate of brass (pẽ'ru-pẽ'ru), half-moon shaped for the men (like a quiricá, fig. 4, *a*), triangular for the women. I do not know of what material these small plates were made before the Tukuna knew of brass. Even today the girls use these ear decorations at puberty ceremonies (pl. 12, *k*).

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304 *Piercing of the septum.*—The Tukuna have largely abandoned the practice of
[301] piercing the septum, which accompanied perforation of the ear lobes. When they pierced it, they wore in the hole a wand of reed or canna brava called vë-ëra'ñ (from vë, introduce; rañ, nose).

*Tooth filing.*—The Tukuna custom, which today has become quite common
[177] filing to points the upper incisors and, more rarely, the lower as well appear have been acquired by contact with the Neobrazilians. Yet the mother of one of my informants condemned the practice as improper and ugly and said that this operation was designed to prevent caries, which forms easily between the teeth—an explanation which is perhaps a secondary rationalization.

*Tattooing.*—The question of primitive tattooing among the Tukuna is difficult to settle satisfactorily; some writers probably took for tattooing what was actually
[386] only painting with the juice of the genipa (*Genipa americana*), which is still widely used today.

304 Padre Monteiro Noronha, the first author to devote a small chapter to the
531 tribe, says that they "have the same strokes [as their neighbors the Caca-tapiiya:
114 a wide black stroke, curled at the tip, which begins next to the nose and ends at the sides of both ears] but narrower and shorter." Martius mentions "eine oder zwei schmale, quer über das Gesicht laufende, tätowierte Linien. Doch findet sich dieses Merkmal keineswegs gleichmässig." Castelnau writes: "D'autres avaient sur les joues deux lignes noires transversales," without indicating whether the lines are painted or tattooed.

One of Marcoy's plates shows a male Tukuna with a double stroke or line in the shape of a loop that begins next to the ear and ends in a small cross on the cheek with an extension to the corner of the mouth. Bates writes: "Both men and women are tattooed, the pattern being sometimes a scroll on each cheek, but generally rows of short, straight lines on the face." His illustration represents the Indians with two short, parallel lines on each cheek, extending slightly to the side of the nose. Ortt[illegible] who as far as the Tukuna are concerned seems to have copied Bates, describes them as "tattooed in numbers of short, straight lines on the face." Lastly, the Tukuna of Barbosa Rodrigues has on each cheek a curved line (the curvature pointing downward) from the nose to the ear, and another almost parallel line that begins at the corner of the mouth. There is no indication whether these are painted or tattooed.

304 Today there is not a single Tukuna with tattoo on the face, the bit that appears
[177] on their arms being an imitation of Neobrazilians.

304 According to Nino, my best Tukuna informant, tattooing came to the tribe from
171 the ču'mana (Yumána) Indians. These people, however, used an oval network
531 pattern surrounding the mouth, with ramifications of the design extending to the ears. Nino told me that the members of the macaw clans, čara' and vɔɔ', used formerly to tattoo the cheeks in imitation of the markings of macaws. The lines of the design were first drawn in by burnt *cicantã* resin and were then punctured by a needle.

304 Another informant told me that "those who were learned" had the figure of a
531 crayfish, *caranguejo*, and a scorpion tattooed on the forearm or on the back of the hand, and that the dye was the juice of a plant called bu'rë (see p. 42).

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534 A piston flute, nẽ'kutʃ (fig. 7, *a*), made from the bark of *cipó mucunã* (*Mucuna* sp.), completes this group of wind instruments. The tube is 40 cm. long by 2 cm. in diameter; the piston is a small rod with a wad of *embíra* (envira) at one end.

Two instruments, used by both sexes, invariably accompany any and all ceremonial acts: the small drum and the rattle stick. The first, tu:'tu (pl. 14, *i*) is clearly European. The body is a short cylinder of *óca de ambaúva* wood (*Cecropia* sp.) from 20 to 30 cm. in diameter. Each end is covered with the dry skin of the guariba monkey or the *surubím* pegged down by a hoop. The two hoops are wedged fast by another pair of hoops placed over them and connected by zigzag cords. A

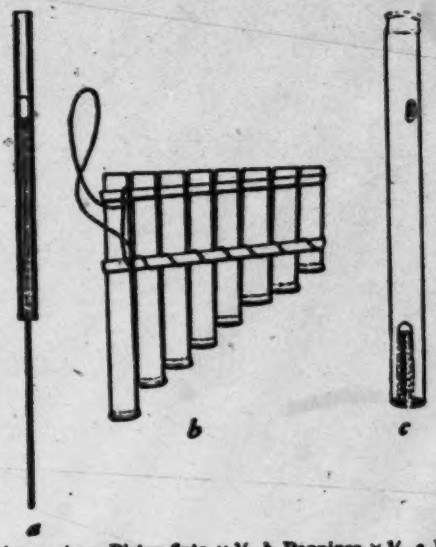


Fig. 7. Musical instruments. *a*. Piston flute, × ⅛. *b*. Panpipes, × ⅛. *c*. Bamboo horn, × 1/12.

cord stretched tightly across the drumhead, sometimes with a bead or small piece of metal tied in the center, hums when the drum is struck. The instrument hangs by a loop of cord from the end of the dance staff or dangles from the left hand. The beat, produced with only one drumstick (tu:tu-ñarʃ-pa 'ru'ʃᵉ) about a hand breadth in size, made of either muirapiranga wood or bone, is simple and measured [533] marking the rhythm of the dance but not that of the chant, which is carried on independently of the drumbeat.

Anyone observing the Tukuna marching, to the sound of the drum, with measured step in lines of two or three, one behind the other, with the dance staves over 534 their shoulders, cannot but notice the resemblance to the marching of soldiers. I 481 consider it quite possible that the Tukuna formation is nothing more than an imi- 177 tation of the soldiers' march, adopted, together with the military snare drum, from the frequent occasions when these Indians attended military exercises at Fort Tabatinga, founded in 1776.

534 It is strange that neither the drum nor the dance staff, which are seen today in 114 all the houses and are indispensable at any feast, is mentioned by any of the writers

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who attended earlier Tukuna ceremonies.[1] Maw writes that the arrival of the masked dancers "was announced by a noise (I think by beating a kind of a drum)" and only Bates, in 1857, speaks of a "monotonous see-saw and stamping dance accompanied by singing and drumming."[2]

There are no drums or dance staves in the illustration "Maskenzug der Ticunas" in Spix's atlas, nor are there any in Bates's. However, the European-type drum was spread among tribes to the north of the Amazon, whence it could have come to the Tukuna through other Indians; and Spix attended a dance among the Pasé and Yuirį' that he characterized as a "nationalen Militärmarsch."[3] However, in this place there was also a foreign military detachment.

Spix gives us an indication of what was probably the original form of the Tukuna drum. Describing the entrance of the masked dancers, he writes: "Den Beschluss machte ein altes hässliches, ganz schwarz bemaltes Weib welches auf einer getrockneten Schilkrötenschale einen einförmigen Tact schlug."[4]

Even today this type of drum, called pɔ:'vi, or tɔri'—from tracajá, "turtle," because it is always made of turtle shell—is used along with the other wood-and-leather drum, although only for specific ceremonies and in a way which differs from that shown in Spix's illustration. Furthermore, the shell is usually much larger, the ones in Spix's plate being from 50 to 60 cm. long. A rod for striking the drum is securely tied on it in a horizontal position. The drum, with the plastron facing up, is hung horizontally from the house roof, about 1 m. from the ground, the two ends of the rod being held by two men, one of whom handles the drumstick while the other shakes the rattle. The head of the drumstick is wrapped in tururí bark cloth. Grasping the rod of the drum, the two men dance four paces to the front and four to the rear. Behind them dance the others.

The text of the chants sung on this occasion refers to the turtle and consists of the repetition of a few words:

1. The turtle is our child.
2. The soft place in the black mud.
3. The cove of the river of half-white water.
4. The grey ambaúvas are his resting place.
5. Like the royal hawk I seize my turtle.
6. His lake has muddied [troubled] water.

and so forth. A strange element is the use of Tupí words in these chants: river, panana' (Tupí, parana'; Tukuna, ta/tį), and royal hawk, virava' (Tupí, wįra-wasu'; Tukuna, da:vį).

At a fixed moment the two men remove the drum from the cord and, holding it by the ends of the rod, take a few turns with it about the house where the feast is being celebrated, accompanied by the other dancers. This instrument, as well as the dance form, appears to me to be entirely aboriginal.

The large xylophone (slit drums), *torocána* in the lingua geral, were never used by the Tukuna, who only know of them from the Witóto and Miránya.

[1] Spix and Martius, p. 1188; Maw, p. 220.
[2] Bates, 2:405.
[3] Spix and Martius, p. 1186.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1188.

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As Tessmann has already observed, there are no transversal flutes or clarinets of the type known as *toré*. A signal horn made of a simple piece of thick bamboo, with a lateral opening, closed on one side and open on the other, is invariably carried in the canoe for signaling the arrival of people and for calling them. 534 [202]

Panpipes commonly consist of eight tubes of bamboo (the longest being 15 cm.), joined by two pairs of rattan lashings (fig. 7, *b*). Panpipes are not played in pairs. The Tukuna name for them is čẽ'ku or dure'tu (Loreto). Loreto is the name of a sub-Andean department of Peru, pronounced in the Tukuna manner "dure'tu" which makes one suppose that the instrument has come from that region. [171]

There is a kind of ocarina (pu|'čane) made from the seed of the *umarí* (*Poraqueiba* sp.), and a clay whistle in the shape of a frog (vɔ:'tavẽ, a name which imitates the frog's croak). Tessmann erroneously calls it *tó'ke*,[1] which is actually the name of a large megaphone (tɔ'/k|).

The Tukuna learned from the Neobrazilians not only how to play the violin but also how to make it, and on the Rio Jacurapá there was an Indian whose violins were sought after by civilized persons—until the authorities of São Paulo de Olivença ordered his arrest for tax evasion (see p. 138). In spite of the attraction this instrument has for the Tukuna, they produce very little music from it, never playing their tribal melodies but only those which they learn from festivities of Neobrazilians in the region, who, for their part, are far from possessing the musical talent of the northeastern Brazilians. 534 177

## Pottery

One finds evidence in the kitchen that the Tukuna still produce pottery. This art is principally practiced by women, but not exclusively so, for many men also perform this task to perfection, whereas many women never devote themselves to it. 323 [462]

In all the igarapés inhabited by the Tukúna, a plastic potters' clay of good quality is found more or less frequently; it almost always occurs in the sloughs at the foot of the high bluffs along the river. This raw material is accorded a certain respect, since its patron is an aquatic monster, dyẽ'vaẽ, which at times presents itself in the form of the western rainbow. [317] [776]

The clay is said to become useless if a pregnant woman touches or even approaches it: it will not bind, and the jars, on drying, will shatter into pieces. It is considered very dangerous for a woman in this condition to go to the bank to fetch clay, as illustrated by the following legend.[1] [843]

Once, a group of women went to a bank to collect clay for pottery. A woman big with child insisted on accompanying them in spite of the others counseling her not to. The others had already dug out the clay that they needed and had piled it on the bank, where they were still standing when the pregnant woman, seeing nothing suspicious, went down to dig clay, too. She squatted down in the middle of the pit, which was half-filled with water, and took out clay with both hands. Suddenly, dyẽ'vaẽ, down at the bottom, allowed a muffled roar to be heard. The women on the bank heard it and cried out: "The owner of the clay is angry! Come up quickly!" "What is the matter?" replied the pregnant one. "I heard nothing." And she continued to dig. She had just taken out a good quantity of clay when a muffled thunderclap was heard. 539

[1] Tessmann, p. 561.

[1] Cf. the legend of tau/čipẽ, p. 120.

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there are no Tukuna who sit around all week eating just bananas is because they like, above all, to eat fish, which obliges them to go fishing almost every day; sometimes the catch is small. Again, once in awhile, they wish to eat game, which they can obtain only by extensive trips through the country.

The husband must clear the undergrowth and burn it for his plantation. The house needs repairs, and his weapons and fishing tackle require constant attention. He cuts and sews the clothes for his family, with remarkable ability, makes a canoe for his own use or to sell at a good price, and helps his wife weed the garden, make farinha, and fetch kindling or fruits from the jungle. The wife, who must take care of the children and kitchen, clean the house and clothing, spin tucum thread, make hammocks or baskets or pottery, obviously has no time for swinging in a hammock either. Furthermore, many take enormous pleasure in their plantations, spending the better part of the day there.

That the Tukuna are neither intellectually lazy nor obtuse in understanding is proved by the many alien culture elements which they have adopted and assimilated with real advantage to themselves: first, the ubá of the Omágua, then the casco of the Neobrazilians, in place of the small, primitive canoe of paxiuba barriguda; the mosquito net and subsequent modification of the house; the manufacture of manioc flour, which gives them an appreciable income; clothing, which is a necessity in a land infested by mosquitoes; firearms, sewing machines, and many other items of lesser importance.

All in all, most members of the tribe at least are free from that snobbishness which impels some Indians thoughtlessly to ape the Neobrazilians and to deprecate their own traditions. The Tukuna have preserved the purity of their own language, having adopted not more than two dozen words from the Portuguese, and there is no evidence of bastardization or decadence in the grammar.

The puberty ceremonies with their complicated ritual still persist today, and moiety exogamy continues to be rigorously maintained. Similarly, the religion of the Tukuna in its fundamental concepts has been kept free of Christian influence. This is why the Tukuna have survived to this day as a numerous tribe, with their own ethnic characteristics, whereas all the other tribes that were formerly their neighbors have disappeared.

## Visits

In spite of their rebellious individualism, their occasional choleric outbreaks, and their constant fear of witchcraft, the Tukuna are far from being unsociable folk. Reciprocal visits are extremely frequent, and invitations to festive reunions are at times so numerous that the recipient with the best will in the world cannot attend them all. An Indian may suddenly feel the desire to visit an acquaintance, friend, or relative, frequently one who dwells a few days' canoe journey away. He loads his mosquito net, some tururí cloth, and clothing into a burden basket, placing it in the canoe, together with a hamper of farinha, a cooking pot, some gourds, and his fishing gear, and covering it all with a mat of banana leaves. (Pl. 4.) Finally, the family also embarks—the dog, the parrot, and the tiny monkey, too—and they voyage forth through the igarapés, sinks, and lakes. When nearing the house of the person to whom the visit is being paid, the traveler

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announces his coming by the sound of his paddling, the strokes of which can be heard from afar. He then draws his canoe inshore but remains seated in it for about half an hour, without glancing at the house, while the host pays him not the slightest attention. Only later do visitor and host approach each other, the former bringing his baggage to the house, in which there is always enough room for him to be lodged without the slightest inconvenience to the inmates.

Formerly, the guest was accorded a type of martial reception, which Marcoy describes. When a visitor entered a house, all the men present seized their spears, pointing them toward the newcomer and pretending to bar the way. The guest, however, knowing the meaning of this procedure, pushed the weapons aside with his hands, entered, and seated himself in the first hammock. The owner of the house then asked: "Who art thou? Friend or enemy? Whence comest thou? What dost thou wish?" The answer was easily given, since the visitor had only come to trade and so forth. They say that in Peru this form of reception is still practiced.

The visit customarily lasts several days or even weeks, but does not grow burdensome to the host, since the guests bring all they need with which to provide their own food by hunting or fishing. More often than not, the owner of the house shares his meals with the visitors, who do likewise with the host's family.

### Festivals

Gatherings by special invitation to selected individuals have much more social and economic importance than personal visits have, whether these guests are invited to participate in collective tasks of major importance—clearing a plantation, preparing house thatch, making preparations for great feasts, such as the puberty feast—or to take part in one of the ceremonies of painting and name bestowal, hair plucking and perforation of ears and septum, haircutting, change of voice in youths, first menstruation, or some similar occasion. We have already noted (p. 13) that the thatch trimming of a new house is also carried out with festivities.

*Labor festivals.*—There is a large class of ceremonies for which the guests arrive in the morning, receive a meal and gourds of drink from the hosts, then all go out together to work. That night they drink, dance, and sing until the following day. These gatherings, which are entirely profane, are called *vayuri'* (uajurí, ajurí) or pë'ta. The first of these terms, vayuri', is an alteration of the Portuguese word for assistance, *ajuda*, which passed into the lingua geral to designate these gatherings for communal work without payment; the second, pë'ta, is the Portuguese word for party, *festa*, pronounced in the Tukuna manner. This suggests that the Tukuna did not have this institution before contact with the Neobrazilians, among whom it is in great vogue; but one must also consider the possibility that it was already known by the Tukuna, who only adopted the present form and the Portuguese terminology.

*Rites of passage.*—The rites of passage have, however, a religious basis and are great ceremonies; the generic designation is dyeíl'. Sometimes more than three hundred persons are present at these, and the celebration with its concomitant drinking lasts for three days and three nights. The vayuri' as well as the dyeíl', are above all drinking bouts, not banquets.

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Clan ãu/ŋᵍ

(Horse turkey, mutum cavalla)

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| Personal Name | Meaning | Analysis |
|---|---|---|
| ♂ ɸ'kira-kị | [turkey] that grows a tail | ɸ, to form; kịra', tail [of a bird] |
| ♂ tĩ'a"kịra-kị | [turkey] spreading tail in fan | tĩ, to spread tail in a fan; kịra', tail [of a bird] |
| ♀ ãua'ẽi-na | [turkey] that arrives suddenly | ãu, to arrive; a'ẽi, suddenly. The turkey, after bathing in the clay pit of the taitetús, dries itself by hopping out with a sudden leap. |
| ♀ mãã'tị-na | [turkey] of good sight | mã, good; ã'tị, eye, vision, sight |

Certain persons, old women especially, command a rich repertoire of various clan names, hence they are summoned and consulted when a child is to be given a name. According to Monteiro Noronha and those who quote him, the name was given after circumcision, that is, "shortly after birth." "This [circumcision] ceremony is a result[a] of giving a name to the children with celebrations [and] dances in the presence of a horrible figure which is said to be the Devil [dance mask]."[b]

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Today the name is given when the child is one day old, after the bath; it is conferred by a maternal relative, a member of the moiety complementary to the child's, with a preference for the grandmother in whose house the parents and relatives have gathered with the newborn infant. First, however, names are proposed by one of the women who understand these things, as mentioned above, who are invited for this purpose. Afterward the name is newly proclaimed and confirmed at the ceremony of painting the child red with urucú, when it begins to crawl, and at the hair-plucking ceremony, when the child is two years old. The proclamation of the name is always accompanied by the shout of "yeᵃ!" and the raising of the child's ornaments into the air.

[616]

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Nowadays, the Tukuna, except some children, are all baptized by Capuchin friars of São Paulo de Olivença and bear Portuguese names, often pronounced so as to be quite unrecognizable. Some persons are known only by their baptismal names, even among their tribesmen; but without exception all have and know their native names, and I never observed on the part of the owners any reluctance to divulge their names when asked to do so.

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## Moieties

The Tukuna refer to the clan quite frequently, but never to the moiety, yet the latter is of much greater importance. The principal function of the moieties is exogamy, although the Tukuna are not aware of the existence of their dual organization; they know only that members of certain clans may not marry members of certain others.

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[a] Literal translation. The statements are contradictory: "name given after circumcision"; "[circumcision] a result of giving a name."—Trans.

[b] Monteiro Noronha, § 140.

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622 with their problems in search of aid and advice. In spite of this, they had no right to punish or coerce anyone who balked at their admonitions. The Tukuna title of these men was tẽ'/tị; on feast days they were distinguished by their feather caps, na:patẽe (described on pp. 37–38).

[773] According to the legend of the origin of languages (p. 130), the first of these chiefs was a certain dəvị, who was also the first man caught by the culture hero dyoi'. The last on Brazilian soil appears to have been Domingos ču'nekị of Igarapé de São Jeronymo. The institution was undermined by the Neobrazilians, who, as [177] lords of the rubber forests and the Indians, pressed these chiefs into their own service.

622 In place of the tẽ'/tị, who exercised their main influence within the traditional
648 tribal limits, there arose the *tuixáuas* (in Brazil) and *curacas* (in Peru), whom their masters appointed and made into mere instruments. These poor devils were condemned to lie to their "charges" in order to please their masters, and to lie to the latter so as not to be completely despised by their fellows. As late as 1929 I knew a few of these: all ended by being bullied by other Indians of their own group, who at heart never recognized their authority.

There are today a few Indians of recognized superiority, like Calixto dauern'kị of Igarapézinho de São Jeronymo (pl. 10, *e*) and Nino ẹvẽnị"kị of Igarapé da Rua, to whom the others resort as they formerly did to the tẽ'/tị, but these owe to the Neobrazilians the dubious honor of nomination.

## War

721 The Tukuna are not warlike; their few fights with the Neobrazilians are isolated acts of vengeance or defense.

*Weapons.*—War weapons are the bow, vẹra' (p. 30), the curare-tipped arrow,
411 kɔ:'ru, and the equally poisoned lance, va:ma'gu, above all, the last named. According to Tessmann, the Tukuna do not use clubs. On several occasions during ceremonies I observed men carrying four-sided clubs with a rounded grip, va·'ra, about a meter in length. Possibly, these are in imitation of clubs used by the northeastern Neobrazilians, who customarily attend celebrations so armed, for the Indians are by no means the only ones who fight on such occasions. Formerly, the Tukuna also used a round shield, nači'nẽ, of tapir leather. The blowgun was not used in warfare. They defended the paths leading to their dwellings with pointed stakes of paxiuba poisoned with curare (tupe'). This method is described in the traditional story of the "Tapera Surára."

[173] In the abandoned plantation of this name, on the left bank of the Alto Igarapé de São Jeronymo, in the old days a Tukuna killed a relative. The dead man's parents complained to the authorities at São Paulo de Olivença, who sent soldiers to the igarapé to arrest the murderer. But the inhabitants of the place put poisoned stakes on the path. Several soldiers were wounded, and the rest returned without completing their mission. The Tukuna, however, abandoned the place from that time on.

648 *War with the Omágua.*—The most feared enemies of the ancient Tukuna—one might say their only enemies—were the Omágua. "[The Omágua] attacked by canoe, with great spears. They captured many; some of them were sacrificed to [727] their idols and the rest served as slaves in their husbandry." A Tupí-speaking tribe

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pl. 9, *b*) and animal figures, also of wood, miniature canoes, and small bows and arrows. Not uncommonly one will see a spinning-top (*ùu"tomaöö*; Tessmann, *nótomas*) made of a tucumã nut, with a lateral hole and a wooden peg; it is spun by a cord twisted about this peg, the loop fastening the top being jerked by the left hand, which secures it. Contrary to what Tessmann says, the Tukuna do have the whirligig or buzzer disk (*Surrscheibe*, mu'uk|; Lg., mutuca, or gadfly)* made of a piece of gourd with serrated edges. The bull-roarer (*brinquedo do cão*) is rare; some say that it came to the Tukuna as a Neobrazilian game. Little girls and young maidens sometimes pass the time making cat's cradles with an endless cord, stretching it between the fingers and toes and using the teeth as an aid.

Very early, a small burden basket is made for a girl, with which she accompanies her mother to the clearing. A boy receives a small paddle and javelin and goes with his father in the canoe to fish. Furthermore, children begin to take active part in festivities at an early age, dancing with their little companions of the same age and sex and partaking of alcoholic beverages when their parents permit it. Later on, even though they can scarcely propel a canoe, they begin to play for hours on end in the igapó, killing small fry and eating tiny fruits.

Because they all, from the age of two years, know how to swim, there is no danger of drowning. Similarly, while searching for fruits they learn to climb trees with astonishing dexterity; they sometimes spend hours perched on tree limbs simply from sheer pleasure at being aloft.

I have already referred (p. 50) to the fact that children here squall and fight among themselves much more than in any other tribe I know of; also, the parents frequently punish them physically but on the whole do not scold them much with yells and insults, correcting them with a sudden gesture and with few words or none. With remarkable calm they discipline children under two years of age who become naughty or cry obstinately. With a silencing gesture the mother or father orders the eldest sister to fetch a flower of a species of nettle (Lg., pinupinú; T., na:-ku'), of which a few specimens are planted for this purpose around the clearing, and it is placed at the child's side without a word. If he obeys, very well; otherwise, if he touches the flower lightly with the naked skin of his limbs and body, the contact produces a painful burning sensation, which, however, is considered beneficial to the health of the infant. Usually the child recognises the nettle on sight and is terribly afraid of it. Adults apply it as a remedy for local pain, poisonous insect bites, or rheumatism. Some fathers, moved by their predilection for male children, permit boys all sorts of abuses and naughtiness up to the age of three or four, while they oblige their daughters to bear silently the frequent, and not so innocent, attacks of the brothers' petty tyranny until the day of reckoning arrives. Then, the father, deciding that the cup of patience is filled, suddenly punishes the boy in such a way that he never again trusts in paternal forbearance, never again feels secure, and flees at the slightest suspicious movement (see p. 51).

* In Brazil, non-Indians make this toy out of a button with a string threaded through the holes, the free ends being knotted together. Holding the extreme ends of the double loop in both hands, the operator winds up the string tightly by a looping motion for which the button provides the weight. The extreme ends of the string are then pulled taut, and the button rapidly untwirls the string, producing a whining sound like that of a gadfly (*mutuca*).—Trans.

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292 ma'vi, the araparyrana tree. (Pl. 18, *b*.) The fruits of this tree have an oder and anciently
776 had an agreeable taste, since lost because the culture hero *e'pi* dropped them into curare before
532 leaving the earth. The costume of red or white tururí, which sometimes has sleeves but never trouser legs, covers the wearer from head to foot. The faceless head is conical and has on top a plume of uarumã stripe to the tips of which are attached small white placques of burity frond-stalks, rhomboid or divided, which represent the fruit of the araparyrana. The characteristic ornament of the costume consists of a painted, toothed J, simple or double. A rod is carried in
[534] the right hand, while the left holds a long, slim bamboo whistle introduced into the mouth through a small orifice in the tururí; today this whistle is almost always replaced by the long stem of a papaya leaf.

čavi', maize. (Pl. 17, *a*.) The outfit, of white tururí painted with vertical stripes, has no face, no arms, and no legs. The conical head ends in a tuft representing a corn tassel. Two imitations of ears of corn are attached to each side, one about the height of the elbow, the other just below.

tɔi', caiarára monkey (*Cebus albifrons*) (pl. 18, *a*) and taikjrẽ', prego monkey (*Cebus fatuellus*) (pl. 18, *c*) are the two commonest types of costumes. Individually, the representation differs greatly, and in neither can one distinguish the animals whose names the represented demons bear, except that one or the other is shown with a phallus in the shape characteristic of the species. The faces are always diabolical; the garments, of red or white tururí, have no trouser legs and rarely have sleeves, the arms protruding through lateral openings.

The imagination of the wearers has free play in the ornamental painting of the
292 tururí, so that one observes modern airplanes represented side by side with tradi-
[177] tional designs. These outfits are characterized by rattles suspended by wooden
293 hooks, or on fantastically long and thick spears, or even on a smooth stick of wood
[534] 25 cm. in length by 2 cm. in diameter; with these the masqueraders rhythmically beat against the hooks. Once I saw nine of these masqueraders holding a log as thick as a man's arm horizontally before them, with which they beat out the measure. Another carried a handful of slim, pointed rods of anajá ribs or similar material, which he threw, two or three at a time, like assegais, against the wall of the girl's seclusion room, where they remained sticking. The spectators shouted for him to throw them at the figure of the deer painted on the wall.

These tɔi' masqueraders always comport themselves in a very impetuous, cocky
881 manner, beating on the house thatch before entering, and galloping furiously to and fro through the center of the festive house, with no regard for those who may be inside. After a while they present themselves in a threatening attitude before the jars, demanding drink, some of the tɔi' giving in exchange "their son" (pl.
[524] 16, *d*), a doll of tururí in more or less human form with a demon's face, which is carried suspended from the backs and which after the feast serves as a plaything of the little girls.

[415] Those who have a face mask in one piece with the body costume drink by means of the tube of a papaya leafstalk. Afterward they again race off to disappear in the jungle, where they remove and store their masks; they never rest or sit down while in the house. As soon as a masked dancer, regardless of his type, enters the house, a few persons, sometimes even the owner or his wife, array themselves behind him and, holding on to his costume, accompany him in his mad career through the dwelling; to escort the taikjrẽ' or tɔi' thus is no simple matter, but it forms the favorite entertainment of the older children of both sexes. Probably this is what Spix meant to show in his plate with the two little girls holding the fringes of the masquerader in front of the rest.

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### Marriage and Family Life

582 According to my Tukuna informants, theoretically a girl may marry as soon after the puberty ceremony as she wishes. However, in practice I have never heard of a girl marrying until the hair had grown anew and had been clipped again, while many remain spinsters for some years afterward, if not for their entire [836] lives. Even today sexual intercourse before the puberty ceremony is unimaginable and, according to some, this held formerly for premarital intercourse as well.

836 I have reason to suppose that nowadays the jungle and the silent waters of the igapó, over which the small fishing canoes rapidly glide without leaving any betraying evidence, conceal the secrets of many lovers, whose parents suspect nothing. The Tukuna, however, because of the few barriers to marriage apart from incest rules, vigorously resent any deceit on this score, which may result in very serious conflicts. Parents consider secret relations between a man and their [584] daughter a grave offense; they demand an explanation from the imprudent man who did not respect "their home" and advise him that he had better marry the girl. If he refuses, which almost never happens, his only recourse is flight.

684 Some thirty years ago a certain Marcolino čaita′ married the elder of two daughters of one daura′ṅkį. After some time he became enamored of his sister-in-law. If he had asked permission to marry her, daura′ṅkį probably would have given it, but čaita′ abandoned his wife and fled with her sister. Accompanied by his brother, daura′ṅkį furiously pursued the pair and overtook them; he slapped them both, bound the girl and threw her into his canoe, and let čaita′ go scot free on the beach. As soon as the son-in-law found himself free, he jumped on daura′ṅkį, who killed him with a club during the struggle.

● [177] Rape never occurs among the Tukuna, who know of this crime only from the Neobrazilians. When I attempted to get some concrete information on this, those 684 whom I approached merely answered: "If she will not—who may take her?" Cer-648 tain *civilizados* who assumed that such a crime could be committed with impunity against an Indian woman have come off very badly with the Tukuna. A trader called Joaquim Balieiro arrived [illegible] his craft, manned by two civilized paddlers, at the place of an Indian on Lake Cajary, where he found at home only a young boy named Izidoro čẽča′kakį and his virgin sister. The trader requested permission to pass the night in the house, which was granted. Later on, the three Neobrazilians conceived the plan of getting the boy drunk so as to be able to take advantage of the girl. They gave him plenty of *cachaça*, but let the cat out of the bag prematurely, before he had become sufficiently drunk. Thus čẽča′kakį understood what was afoot and attacked the three with fury, shooting and killing the trader, while the paddlers barely succeeded in escaping. One of them, whom I knew personally, was gravely wounded. Back among their own kind, they said that čẽča′kakį had assaulted them with intent of robbery.

Again, in a certain igarapé there dwelt an Indian who had two young daughters; farther upstream lived two rubber gatherers. Going down to their tent on the bank of the Solimões one day, these two found the Indian there. Seeing that he was lingering, the two hurried back, entered his house, deflowered the two girls, and then left in their canoe for their camp. Shortly after, the Indian returned

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turn to the paternal house. The clearing that her husband made, and which she planted and took care of, is hers, since "a man has arms to make another." In general, a divorced woman's children remain with her, but the former husband may demand them for himself; if so, he cannot be denied them. Also, if the wife's family is in economic difficulties, she may oblige the divorced husband to care for and support the children. Often, women divorced in this way do not marry again but carry on relations with whom they please, that is, away from the parental roof.

Several times I heard older Indians complain of the increasing fickleness with which certain youths contract, and shortly thereafter dissolve, marriages. I observed two marriages in which the young husband abandoned his wife after a week, leaving her for no apparent reason, never to return. It appears to me that fickleness in marriage is not only increasing among the youths but is also prevalent, on a smaller scale, among the girls. It is related to the increasing proletarianization of a certain section of the tribe through the influence of industrial establishments in the region. Many of these establishments provide food and prostitutes for the young men whom they employ, making marriage unnecessary for them.

*Adultery.*—In adultery, the woman is the only one considered responsible. Perhaps the informant cited above on defloration would say of this also: "If she will not—who may take her?" A single commission of adultery on the part of either spouse, even though established beyond a doubt, is not held to be sufficient cause for divorce, the problem being solved merely by a blow; only if the act is repeated, does this solution fail. Adultery appears extremely rare in economically well-balanced families. Throughout my entire stay among the Tukuna not one divorce took place in families with a stable economy, nor was there in such families any scandal involving adultery.

*Tendency to matrilocal residence.*—If the Tukuna are right in saying that in the old days malocas were inhabited by families of only one clan, residence must then have been patrilocal. Today there is no fixed rule, but there is a well-established tendency for parents not to let a daughter out of sight and free from their control even after marriage. Compare with this the uncle's counsel to the vərëkj: "Never abandon your mother, and look out for her even after marriage" (p. 90); and the prospective mother-in-law's threat to the suitor that she will reclaim her daughter if the latter is not well treated (p. 94).

One family of Igarapé da Rita was visibly disgusted by the marriage of a daughter to an Indian who later went to live with her in the neighborhood of Belém, about twenty-five kilometers away as the crow flies. It appeared that the parents were waiting only for some pretext to dissolve the union, since they were already openly discussing this eventuality. Usually the husband first lives for some time in the house of his in-laws. Some never leave, but most later set up their own establishments not far away. The preferred type of marriage, described earlier in this section, favors this tendency to a certain extent.

*Daily life.*—I should emphasize the fact that family life among the Tukuna runs with extreme calm and monotony. I have associated for months with certain families without noting the slightest altercation. The transports of rage to which

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764 all that they possess of their property. And he who died is placed in a small canoe,
[114] which they say he uses for travelling in another world."

The last instances of urn burial probably took place at the end of the last century, since Nino's deceased mother told him that she had attended one. In their heyday, the rubber-collecting patrões obliged the Tukuna to bury their dead in
[177] Christian cemeteries and according to Christian custom, so that even today most of the Indians are thus buried. These graves are no different from those of the Neobrazilians. Those found a short distance behind the houses of isolated Indians never have a cross; in its place a post is sometimes put up.

Since ancient times, the Tukuna have been accustomed to visit the graves at
769 intervals, taking leaf packages containing food and gourds with beverages. On these occasions they drink manioc beer at the grave, first taking care, however, to permit the načii' to drink first, lest, in the form of a weasel (ira'ra), it destroy the crops. Under Christian influence this ceremony later was set for All Souls' Day [*Día de Finados*], the second of November. Lately, seeing that the Christians were removing and enjoying the Indians' offerings to the dead, the Tukuna have abandoned this practice of leaving food at the graves.

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673 art ruining the people!" says ta-ë' to the soul of an obstinate sinner. Furthermore, when I once spoke of the social consequences which incest brings to an incestuous son, a Tukuna cut short my words with: "It's not only that; he disgraces the people."

776 177 *The Christian* ta-ë'.—Up to this point the concept of ta-ë' and her activities, as well as the concepts of soul, sin, and punishment, do not appear to me to have been influenced by Christianity. It is easily understood however, that within this cycle of religious ideas concerning the souls of the dead and an upper world, there have been introduced Christian elements in the form of entire legends. This is due, not to contact with a Christian population, but to incomplete instruction received long ago through missionaries.[11] There is another ta-ë', a caricature of the Virgin Mary appearing in conjunction with "Our Father," ta-na'tị, who unites within himself elements of God the Father and especially of Jesus Christ. There are also the dyure'u [*judeu*, Jew], a combination of the Jews, the story of the Passion of Christ, and the devil. It is amazing how many episodes of the evangelists have contributed to this grotesque conglomeration represented in the following legend of ta-ë', ta-na'tị, and the dyure'u:

### ta-ë', ta-na'tị, and the dyure'u

539 776 177 ta-na'tị coveted ta-ë' while she was yet a girl, but she rejected him. Then he transformed himself into a flower by the wayside. ta-ë' plucked the flower, smelled it, and merely because of this became pregnant. She was quite astonished, because she had had sexual relations with no one; at last, however, she realized that ta-na'tị had impregnated her. When after five [*sic*] months she gave birth to a boy, ta-na'tị addressed her from afar: "Do you see? You did not wish me but you shall always have my son!"[12]

ta-na'tị was the wisest of all men. With his magic arts he used to kill the dyure'u (demons with tails like barrigudo monkeys), a more ancient race than men. They resolved to kill ta-na'tị. They tied him to a stake, put out his eyes, and left him exposed to the sun. "We want to see if he is really tupa'na!" [i.g., for "god," or "saint"] they said. tana'tị recovered from this. They crucified him with nails and pierced him with arrows, but he again recovered. Then they strangled him with a rope passed round both his neck and the stake to which he was bound, and this time he died.

They laid the body of ta-na'tị in a coffin, and afterward killed his chickens and sheep. But while they were seated at the table, the roast chicken suddenly sprang up and cried: "ta-na'tị ñöl'u'!" ["ta-na'tị is alive!], whereupon the pieces of the butchered sheep joined one another and bleated: "bë:! It's a lie!" When the dyure'u went to look, the coffin with ta-na'tị's body was already at a hand's height from the ground and was rising rapidly.

The dyure'u tried to pull it down by a rope passed round it, but the coffin rose without stopping, carrying the dyure'u hanging from the rope. Because of this they are also in heaven. Since then, nothing has been heard of ta-na'tị; today he still lives in heaven, but far away from all the others. The road to ta-ë''s house is partly overgrown by the jungle; the other path, however, which leads to the habitation of the dyure'u is a broad, fine road of sand. The dyure'u duck the arriving souls into a pot of boiling pitch, so that only their fingertips peep out. Afterward they remove them and weigh them, repeating this until the soul has become light enough to appear before ta-ë'. She, however, still scolds the soul before admitting it.

773 776 177 The Tukuna commonly give the title of ta-na'tị ("Our Father") to the twin culture heroes, a title justified by the fact that these are the creators of humanity, or at least the greater part of it, especially of the Tukuna. According to Tessmann. tana'te means "god": "Er hat die Welt gemacht, die Tiere und Berge, Sonne,

[11] Spaniards? See use of the *garrote* in the following legend.
[12] I could learn nothing more of this son.

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Mond und Sterne und auch die Menschen, letztere aus Erde." It is clear that this description refers to the Christian God, not to a personage of the ancient religion.

Even today the Tukuna regard the Jewish peddlers, who sometimes appear in their territory, as the direct descendants of the legendary dyure'u, believing them to be tailed, or that at least one of them[14] is so adorned.

*The souls.*—The naa'ë or soul is, according to an expression of the shaman Calixto daueru'kl, "what we think" (or thought)." This type of soul is given the fetus while it is still within the womb; if ta-ë' is careless, the child is born spiritually defective.

Dreams are the adventures of the soul, and in them the soul of a wicked sorcerer may commit his crimes in far-off places. The soul, not the body, is responsible for our acts. Its abandonment of the body causes death, after which the soul normally returns to heaven.

*The shades of the dead.*—Quite different from the role of the naa'ë is that of man's second soul, the načii'. Nevertheless, I have repeatedly gained the impression that the Indians do not always distinguish the two clearly. The načii' is the shade of the dead. It "is of no importance," the Tukuna told me; it remains on earth near the place where the individual died. At abandoned house sites (taperas) the načii' congregate, preferably assuming the forms of nocturnal swallows, bacuráos (*Caprimulgus* sp.), but also sometimes those of toads or other creatures. Ribeiro de Sampaio probably referred to this belief when he wrote: "In their philosophy they profess the miserable dogma of metempsychosis, or the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of souls to another body, even to irrational [*sic*] ones."[15] Most of the time, however, a man's načii' appears in the exact form he had in life, only betraying its nature by certain whimsical habits. The načii' are moderately dangerous, owing to their mania for sucking blood, flesh, and bones of living people, so as to leave only the empty skin. In the Tukuna idiom this is called "to put the genipapo on someone," because of the black color of the marks left by sucking. A few legends will give a better idea of the načii''s habits.

### duë' and the načii'

An Indian named duë' went out to hunt deep in the jungle; he saw that he was near a house he recognized, in which he thought to spend the night. Dusk was falling when he reached it and found it deserted. The ground inside the house was already covered with mould. The inhabitants had gone fishing on Lake Curaná [between the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and the Solimões], where the Omágua attacked them, killing everyone. duë' climbed up under the roof of the house to spend the night there, but just as it turned completely dark he heard on the path the cries of many swallows, which began to talk among themselves in the human language. They were the shades of the murdered people of the house, which had returned home. "Daughter," he heard a woman say, "go up to the loft and fetch a little maize so that we may prepare mingau!" Soon the girl, in the form of a swallow, came up by the motá [i.g. for notched-log ladder] to the platform where duë' lay prone. He seized her and commenced to tear out her feathers.

"Come quickly, my daughter!" said the mother. "I cannot," answered the girl swallow. "This man here is plucking out my feathers!" Then duë' threw her down from the platform to the floor, where she died; then he pulled the ladder up beside him. The shades gathered round the dead swallow. "We shall put the genipapo marks on this fellow!" they cried. They searched all around

[14] The sense of the passage indicates that these Jewish peddlers travel in pairs.—Trans.
[15] The word means "judgment"; ku ñë a'ë, "thou hast no judgment."
[15] Ribeiro de Sampaio, § 212.

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### dyoi' Paints the Uariciána

dyoi' had invented the uariciána of paxiubinha wood for the hair-plucking festival of the boy Tɣku-kĵra', painting it red with carajurú [*Arrabidea chica*]. One of the immortal companions, I don't know which, criticised the painting. "How should I paint it, then?" asked dyoi'. The other explained, "At the headwaters of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo there is a high bank with clays of all colors. It is soft, but you must not touch it with your hands; remove it by thrusting your blowgun into it so that the clay sticks in the bore!" 539

That very evening the two transported themselves to the spot mentioned, where dyoi' thrust his blowgun into all the clays of different colors, each time to the depth of a handbreadth. On returning home, he reamed the clay out with a cleaning rod, and then painted the uariciána anew.

The taboo which surrounds this instrument is concentrated in the appearance of this paint." [784]

### The Present Status of dyoi' and e'pi

At last dyoi' and e'pi decided to part, and so they went away—dyoi' to the west and e'pi to the east. But dyoi' could not readily find the west, and at night he secretly reversed the earth so that e'pi remained in the west, while he himself remained in the east. No one ever saw dyoi' again.

A long time ago a Tukuna journeyed to the rising sun, where he arrived at dyoi''s house. He entered but did not succeed in seeing dyoi'. Wherever he looked he saw only his own image, because the walls of the house were made of mirrors. dyoi' sent word for him to go back, since he did not want to see him nor did he wish to be sought out.

Probably this tale has as its underlying basis the visit of some Indian in the mirrored salon of some governmental palace where he was denied the audience requested of the governor. [177]

*Version collected in 1929.*—In connection with the tale related above "Captain" Felix in 1929 brought to my attention the following episode.

Later, the two brothers began to quarrel and argue over the division of the world, disputing which of them should receive the east and which the west. ipi demanded absolutely that he should go down the Solimões (east) and left for that region with his followers; but while he slept, dyoi' turned the world about so that ipi and his people remained in the west, whereas dyoi' and his people remained in the east, as he had wished. dyoi' lives in the land of the rising sun, beyond the the sea, in a place called mu'ruapi. agutapa and tïčarïui are with him, also, but no mortal can ever reach there. In ancient times a few came close enough to see mu'ruapi from afar, but when they came nearer, everything turned into flowering bushes.

On the left bank of the upper Igarapé de São Jeronymo, almost two days' canoe trip above the farthest Tukuna settlement, there is a very old plantation. Calixto daueru'kĵ used to call this place bu-ẽ (from bu, child) because it was believed to have once been the dwelling of ńu'/tapa, where dyoi', e'pi, and their sisters appeared in this world. Generally, however, the Tukuna call this plantation taivegĵ'ne, which was the name of dyoi''s house. According to the Tukuna, one may still see there the remains of very ancient posts belonging to the house and to the fence with the platform upon which the brothers waited for the jaguar that had devoured ńu'/tapa. 773 778

The place where the two caught the giant caiman was also pointed out to me. Not far above this spot the Igarapé vorẽ-kĵ ("Girl Creek") empties from the right. There in ancient times the celebrants of a puberty ceremony once took the virgin to her bath after the depilation, as was the custom. When she dived into the

[784] See legend, "tɔ'ɛ̈na and the Breaking of the Uariciána Taboo."

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ñora'ne continued to have visions from time to time, almost exclusively of the feasts which ta-na'tị and his companions celebrated at Igarapé ẽ'varẽ, which were apparently carried out in the fashion of rich *civilizados*, with roasted oxen to eat, and so on. In his visions he also encountered me several times, since I was among ta-na'tị's companions. Since I always treated ñora'ne kindly, giving him several small presents, he grew greatly attached to me and was unable to conceal his delight in my company, embracing me and following me about wherever I might go. ñora'ne spoke not a word of Portuguese; he told his revelations preferably to several women and girls related to him, from whom I in turn heard them.

### The Tukuna Religion and the Neobrazilians

The Indians will give absolutely no explanation of their religion to the Neobrazilians, especially to the priests. To satisfy importunate interrogators they usually affirm belief in "tupana" (l.g. for "god" or "saint") and fear of the "yurupari'" (l.g. for "devil"), but they reveal nothing about dyoi' or ta-ẽ' or about their animistic beliefs. References in the literature, from Ribeiro de Sampaio in 1884 to Tessmann, are proof of this: there is always apparent the pretense of a belief in Christianity without any basis in fact. The Capuchin missionary Frei Fidelis has for several years been making praiseworthy efforts to learn something of the native religion. Until 1941, at least, he had learned nothing—nor had the Tukuna learned anything from him. They treat him well; they like him for his simple and affable ways but are secretly convinced, in spite of everything, that he can be only an enemy of their religious traditions; hence they continue to pull his leg with yarns of tupa'na and the yurupari'.

To illustrate the extent of Tukuna pretense of Christianity I might mention only that, at a puberty ceremony, I saw on a masquerader, and afterward acquired, a mask of tɔ|' that sported the miter, cross, and reddish beard (imitated by hair of a squirrel's tail) of the prelate of São Paulo de Olivença. I also saw another demon masquerader who brandished as a dance staff a cross that could have come only from some Christian grave.

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# X. VARIOUS LEGENDS

## Legends of Cataclysms

773 The belief in dyɔi', e'pi, and the immortals is in a way associated with the idea of cataclysms, past and future, and of the Mountains of Salvation, vaip|' or pa:'ru.

### World Fire and Deluge

539 This happened after dyɔi' and his companions had left for the east. The earth began to move in the west, and at once men began to die. Fire burst forth from the ground and came steadily nearer; one could hear its roaring. The immortals, and with them those who had answered their call, thus becoming immortal, left for Mount vaip|', which they say is below Manáos, I don't know exactly where. The slopes of this mountain constantly drip water [na-va'i, it is wet], so the world fire did not reach it.

In the west a girl with her little sister had been left alone in the seclusion cell. When the earth moved, only their room stayed firm, and, while all the others lay dying, the two sisters remained alive. They climbed a tall genipapo tree at the edge of the house yard, covering their faces with wild-chocolate hulls to protect them from the smoke. When they removed the hulls a little, they saw all around them the charred trees of the once-virgin jungle sinking below the earth, which had become completely soft.

In the immediate vicinity of the house, however, everything remained as it had been. Finally the fire burned out. For months the two sisters ate maize that had been stored in the house. Then the *camapú* [*Physalis* sp.] began to appear and produced fruit at the edge of the clearing; the two sisters gathered and ate the berries. While thus engaged, the younger sister went too far astray and sank beneath the still-soft earth; behind her, flames and smoke sprang up. The elder sister was now all alone and wept despondently. Then she heard a noise: it was the water, which, bursting forth from the ground and rapidly increasing, flooded everything.

A large blue butterfly [*Morphos menelaus*] came to the girl, saying that surely she must also die now. But, through magic he made the girl's body light[1] and then ordered her to hold on to his abdomen while he attempted to fly with her. But she failed to do so, and the flood was already entering the house. Then the butterfly commanded the girl, painted red with urucú, to imitate the motions of the dragonfly in flight; and so with the butterfly's assistance she at last managed to fly away and escape to where dyɔi' lived. When the deluge reached Mount vaip|', the mountain, with the immortals' dwelling on its top, grew in height so that they were preserved from the waters.

### The Deluge

An Indian once owned a dog. One day the animal began to speak in the human language, saying that there would be a great flood; that he, the dog, was going to Mount vaip|' and his master had better accompany him if he wished to save himself. The master, however, did not wish to go, for he did not know where the dog was going to lead him. Then the animal advised him to have a great canoe ready to save himself and his family in the hour of the flood. So saying, the dog departed for vaip|'.

The waters burst boiling out of the earth and flooded the entire surface. The Indian and his family embarked in the canoe that had been prepared and moored to a tree by a very long liana. However, the waters steadily rose, and the current pulled the canoe this way and that, so that they were obliged to lengthen the liana repeatedly and had by then long lost track of where they were. But finally they landed on Mount vaip|', where they remained until the waters subsided. They abandoned their canoe on the mountain—where, it is said, it may still be seen today—and, guided by the lengthened vine, returned to their former home.

773 177 The canoe on Mount vaip|' is obviously an element from Christian mythology and apparently is the only Christian motif in the Tukuna cataclysmic mythology.

[1] See the legend of ɨim|dyuʉ', pp. 148 ff.

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since even the dove motif, which so easily penetrates foreign mythologies, is not found in the Tukuna legends. 773 [777]

### Legends of Celestial Bodies and Related Phenomena

*The sun.*—The slight importance the Indians attach to celestial bodies is worthy of note. Of the sun they told me that it was hot to the point of charring anyone who approached it, and that its headdress was a crown of red macaw tail feathers similar to that used today by a virgin at her puberty festival. I have seen the sun represented in this fashion three times, by a mask with a face carved in wood and with human, not demoniacal, features. There is a legend called "The Canoe of the Sun" (ɟakɟ'-ve'i-ñ), but, try as I might, I did not succeed in recording more than a fragment. There is no longer anyone who can recite the entire story. 773 821

#### The Canoe of the Sun

A solitary youth was fishing when the Sun arrived in a canoe and asked him if he had caught anything. The boy answering in the negative, the Sun invited him to join him, since they should have caught something by this time. The youth sat in the prow while the Sun steered. The Sun asked him which was the "Pathway of the Sun." Thus the youth realized that he was in the Sun's company, although the Sun had made the boy insensible to the heat. They paddled along. The boy thought that they were still paddling down here [on the earth] but they were already up there [in the sky]. A pirarucú this long [1 m.] appeared. The Sun seized the fish, threw it into the canoe, and baked it with his heat. 539

Some time later they halted in order to eat lunch in the canoe. The youth finished his share first. The Sun invited him to eat more, but the boy was obliged to decline with thanks. The Sun ordered him to bend his head forward, and then slapped him on the back of the head. At once a great number of cockroaches fell out of the boy. "That was the reason that you felt stuffed," said the Sun. The boy regained his appetite. They ate the entire fish. The Sun collected the scales and bones, put the fish together again, and threw it alive into the water.

The shaman Geraldo sent the soul of the murdered sorcerer U'iru to the "Canoe of the Sun" to be burned. [775]

*The moon and stars.*—Lunar eclipses are caused by the moon's meeting the demon vẹ'kɟẽa of the Jaguar clan, who battles with her. The word "vẹ'kɟẽa" is used for a hook made of a special wood in the form of an N, from which household implements (especially kitchen utensils) are suspended. The vẹ'kɟẽa of the heavens is Orion. The story of the terrestrial vẹ'kɟẽa and the incident which justifies his name of "hook" is related in the legend of čimɟdyuẽ' (pp. 148 ff.). If the jaguar in the eclipse should kill the moon, mankind would die; for this reason it is necessary that people aid the moon, scaring away her adversary with as much noise as possible. 821 773 789

I myself witnessed an attempt of this sort during the eclipse of August 25 and 26, 1942. As soon as the Indians were aware of the phenomenon—directly after the eclipse began—an alarm broke out that spread from house to house, up and down the igarapé, reaching to the inhabitants of the banks of the Solimões. Some beat with paddles on the keels of overturned, beached canoes; others belabored with the backs of their machetes a large plank resting on a support; others shot off firearms. Nino ẹvẽnɟ'kɟ, in whose house I was staying, seriously explained to his children what was taking place. The noise continued until the moon was completely free of the earth's shadow.

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## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main *Tucuna* crops are bitter manioc, sweet manioc (macaxera), cara (*Dioscorea*), and maize. The last is planted with some ceremony. There are also at least three species of edible tubers which are not used by civilized people.

226 227 **Fishing and hunting.**—Fish, of great importance to the *Tucuna*, are taken with four- to nine-pronged javelins, arrows, harpoon arrows, baskets, weirs, traps, and a drug made of timbó. The Indians fish almost daily from childhood. On the Solimões, they are expert fishers of pirarucú, an important article of commerce.

224 177 411 Hunting today is unimportant, since game has been depleted to fill the demand for hides. The *Tucuna* now use firearms, but formerly employed the bow and arrow, spear, and blowgun. They also use pitfalls and several types of snares and traps. The blowgun, once the principal weapon, is disappearing.

222 262 [245] **Gathering.**—The wild burity, bacaba, patauá, and açahy palms are of great economic value. Some *Tucuna* plant Brazil nut trees near their houses. They eat certain frogs, Coleoptera larvae, and female red ants at hiving time. They like wild honey but keep no bees.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—The *Tucuna* raise a few chickens, but do not want hogs or other domestic animals because they dirty the premises. They keep young wild mammals and birds uncaged.

412 252 [177] [434] **Food preparation.**—Instead of a mortar, the *Tucuna* use a trough with a half-moon-shaped rocker of thick and heavy wood.

The making of manioc flour, introduced by the Neo-Brazilians, became one of the principal sources of income among the *Tucuna*.

### HOUSES

342 The old houses had a small rectangular central portion with a short ridge pole mounted on props. Each end was semicircular, so that the ground plan was oval or nearly round. The walls were of a man's height, and were made of boards of paxiuba or of straw. The house could be sealed tight against mosquitoes. Families occupied the lateral corridors, the central space being reserved for ceremonies. All houses were spacious and well built.

177 342 352 513 The introduction of mosquito nets made house walls unnecessary. People slept on bunks along the walls, covered with mosquito nets, instead of in hammocks. Many houses were built without the semicircular extremities but with a longer central part, being like an open rectangular ranch house with a ridge pole. When the tribe occupied the flood plains of the shores and islands, they built houses on piles.

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Each residence has a proper name, given by the owner at a special feast. Houses are usually clean. 552 356

**Household furniture.**—Hammocks are made by a netlike technique of tucum thread of different colors; they are now used only for daytime resting. Clothes are kept in large baskets. 513 296

On the struts and rafters of the house one can often see remnants of the paraphernalia of feasts: masks, turury fringes, druma, and dance sticks. Ears of maize hang from the frame of the house or are piled in the loft. 352

The *Tucuna* never build a fire or eat in the dwelling. The kitchen is always a small separate house. Fire was formerly produced by drilling a horizontal piece of wood, which was placed over two cross pieces. There is, however, a tradition that even in old times they made fire by striking two stones. [343] 372

Fire fans are made exclusively of large bird wings. [412]

The *Tucuna* have plenty of small four-legged stools, either rectangular or oval, made from a single piece of wood, sometimes elaborately carved in the shape of a chelonian or batrachian. 352 532

## TRANSPORTATION

Formerly, the *Tucuna* traveled largely on land, although on the small streams they used small primitive canoes made of paxiuba palm. From the *Omagua* they learned to make "ubá" type dugout canoes, and from the Neo-Brazilians to make "casco" type dugouts which were widened by heating them over a fire. These are sometimes provided with round shields (rodellas) and gunwales. *Tucuna* canoes are so well made that civilized people seek them. Paddles have crutch handles and a round blade with a large point. The blade and the crosspiece on the end of the handle, but not the handle, are invariably painted black. 501 [177]

## DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION

Formerly, both sexes trimmed their hair slightly over the brows, and used a comb made of twigs held between two parallel sticks. 302

Both sexes used to pierce their ear lobes; only women do so now. Through the hole they usually wore little plates of white wood; on feast days they inserted small rods with feathers on the front end, from which a small metal plate hung. Women's plates were triangular, men's moon-shaped. Long ago they pierced the nasal septum, through which they had put a little rod of *Gynerium*. They also used to tattoo the face, which at one time may have indicated clans. There are still recollections of circumcision of girls, but not of men, as described by Father Noronha in 1768. 304 301 [174] [114]

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apart, which is correlated with their lack of social organization other than blood ties. When drunk they quarrel and often cause injuries and death. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians, both parties exhibit their worst qualities. Nevertheless, the *Tucuna* are not unsociable and frequently visit one another and hold festive meetings, when they work collectively for their host. They retain tenaciously their original spiritual culture, although hard work has brought important material improvements. They now have good firearms, tools, clothes, and sewing machines, and they live in financial independence. Some, however, enticed to industrial establishments (rum factories) of the civilized people, become proletarian and then degenerate.

**Moieties and clans.**—The *Tucuna* are divided into two exogamous, unnamed patrilineal moieties, associated respectively with the east and west. One has 15 unlocalized, patrilineal sibs with tree names; the other has 21 sibs with bird names. Neither the clans nor moieties have outward distinguishing features, except for the private use of certain musical instruments on ceremonial occasions. There is no clear relationship between clan members and their eponym, except that a person's name refers obscurely to certain qualities of the animal or plant, thus revealing his clan. A person is named by his maternal relatives the day after his birth.

The *Tucuna* maintain moiety exogamy with strict inflexibility, and in 1941 still punished violations with death. They regard incest as a sin against the goddess Taé, who punishes it by making one insane during his life and by annihilating his soul after his death.

## LIFE CYCLE

**Birth and childhood.**—After coitus, conception depends on Taé, who gives a soul to children. Abortion and infanticide are practiced, especially when the father is a Neo-Brazilian, as the child would be disqualified for sib and moiety membership. Otherwise, it is believed that infanticide is a sin and that Taé punishes the soul of the perpetrator after death.

Childbirth takes place in a temporary shelter prepared in the bush near the house. The newborn child is immediately painted with genipa. Both parents are confined and diet until the umbilical cord drops off. Children are carried in a woven cotton sling passing over a shoulder. Slings are double in part, so that a child sits in one portion while the other supports its back.

When a child begins to crawl, there is a feast in which it is painted with urucú and covered with bits of parrot feathers while the paint is still sticky. At another feast, formerly celebrated when the child was 2 but now when it is 4, its hair is pulled out and its ears pierced. Contrary to certain authors, this operation does not endanger a child's life. About 8 months later there is a supplementary feast when the hair, having grown again, is trimmed, and the relics of the previous feast are burned.

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### ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

532 **Art.**—The *Tucuna* were fine sculptors. Their carved figures on the dancing sticks, stools, and tucumã nut figures in their necklaces are at times very artistic. Painting is restricted mainly to masks and pottery ornamentation.

533 534 **Music.**—During feasts, the *Tucuna* sing in a falsetto voice so low that it can hardly be heard. Three important instruments are: (1) a wooden, tubular megaphone into which they speak and sing and which is 22 feet (6¼ m.) long with an opening 5 inches (12 cm.) wide and a mouthpiece 2 inches (5 cm.) long; (2) a conical trumpet 13 feet to 19½ feet (4 to 6 m.) long made of a strip of bark wound spirally; and (3) a piston whistle made of liana bark. The last is always sounded before the other two. In any ceremony there is always a faithful imitation of the European drum and a *Thrvetia*-shell rattle, the latter taking the place of the conventional maracá, which is unknown. The old form of drum was possibly the shell of a chelonium, which now is used only in one ceremonial. There are also panpipes, bone flutes, and bamboo horns.

[177]

526 **Adult games.**—In shuttlecock, a maize-husk ball is batted into the air with the palm of the hand by men standing in a ring. In a tug-of-war in which a thick liana is used, one team of men competes against another. A ring-and-pin game is played by two men facing each other. Grown girls make cats cradles with threads wrapped around the fingers, toes, and head.

[524]

273 **Beverages.**—Women make alcoholic beverages from maize, cooked bitter manioc, and half-burned cakes (beijú) of manioc; the last was adopted from the Neo-Brazilians. Today many men are addicted to rum.

[177] [733]

### SHAMANISM

754 756 Even today many Indians possess magic powers to help or harm others. These powers come from intercourse with the spirits of certain trees with which an old shaman puts his disciple in contact. The neophyte shaman receives a magic substance which contains invisible thorns. He throws these into his victim's body, where they reproduce and cause his death unless another shaman sucks them out and completes the cure by applying herbs. The shaman chews tobacco (formerly, he used a tubular wooden pipe with an opening on the side for the mouth) to become possessed of the spirit which supplied the magic pathogenic substance to the witch doctor. Chewing tobacco identifies the evil shaman.

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[276]

753 Children fall ill when the spirits of the trees kidnap their souls. Epidemics come from the sun and are spread by the wind.

683 672 When the *Tucuna* are convinced that a shaman is responsible for one or more deaths, their revenge even reaches his relatives. In 1942, three *Tucuna* killed a much-feared shaman and his two sons. The avengers